UNITED NATIONS
General Assembly
FORTY-EIGHTH SESSION
Official Records

SPECIAL POLITICAL AND
DECOLONIZATION COMMITTEE
(FOURTH COMMITTEE)
22nd meeting
held on
Wednesday, 24 November 1993
at 10 a.m.
New York

SUMMARY RECORD OF THE 22nd MEETING

Chairman:	Mr. KALPAGE	(Sri Lanka)
later:	Mr. SENGWE (Vice-Chairman)	(Zimbabwe)

CONTENTS

AGENDA ITEM 87: COMPREHENSIVE REVIEW OF THE WHOLE QUESTION OF PEACE-KEEPING OPERATIONS IN ALL THEIR ASPECTS (continued)

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Distr. GENERAL
A/C.4/48/SR.22
4 February 1994
ENGLISH
ORIGINAL: RUSSIAN

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The meeting was called to order at 10.15 a.m.

AGENDA ITEM 87: COMPREHENSIVE REVIEW OF THE WHOLE QUESTION OF PEACE-KEEPING OPERATIONS IN ALL THEIR ASPECTS (*continued*) (A/48/158, A/48/173, A/48/291-S/26242, A/48/349-S/26538, A/48/403/Add.1-S/26450/Add.1 and A/48/515-S/26605; A/C.4/48/L.18 and A/C.4/48/L.19)

Draft resolution A/C.4/48/L.18: Comprehensive review of the whole question of peace-keeping operations in all their aspects

1. Mr. GAMBARI (Nigeria), Chairman of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations, introducing draft resolution A/C.4/48/L.18, said that United Nations activities in the field of peace-keeping had undergone substantial changes as a result of the increase in the number and complexity of peace-keeping operations. The Secretariat had made significant progress in the implementation of many of the recommendations of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations, as well as those pertaining to the Secretary-General's report "An Agenda for Peace" (A/47/277-S/24111). Issues relating to peace-keeping operations were under discussion not only in the formal organs of the United Nations, especially the General Assembly and the Security Council, where they continued to receive close attention, but also in the many informal and semi-informal groups in which Member States participated.

2. The report on the work done by the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations at its regular annual session in the spring of 1993 had been issued as document A/48/173 of 25 May 1993. The conclusions and recommendations contained in that report formed the basis for the draft resolution on agenda item 87. The work of the members of the Special Committee in drafting the draft resolution had been enriched by contributions from Member States which had participated in the Committee's work as observers. Since the conclusion of the Special Committee's session, questions relating to peace-keeping had been considered in other United Nations forums. They had also been addressed in other important documents, in particular General Assembly resolutions 47/120 A of 18 December 1992 and 47/120 B of 20 September 1993. All those developments had been taken into account during the drafting of the draft resolution.

3. The draft resolution before the Committee had been the subject of thorough and extensive discussion among Member States and reflected their desire to ensure that peace-keeping operations, which were constantly growing in number, size and complexity, contributed in the most effective manner possible to international peace and security and played a role in the overall betterment of mankind.

4. The draft resolution also reflected the recognition by Member States of the need to provide adequate financial and other resources to enable the United Nations to carry out complex operations in an effective manner. The draft resolution invited the Secretary-General to review the applicable regulations, to improve financial control and to delegate appropriate authority to Force Commanders and Special Representatives while strengthening overall

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accountability. The draft resolution also addressed the issues of effective planning, coordination, training and public information, as well as the need for regular consultations with Member States and between the various United Nations organs involved in peace-keeping operations. It also addressed questions relating to the role of regional organizations and agreements.

5. The draft resolution also dealt with the question of the status and safety of personnel participating in peace-keeping operations. It was very important for individuals participating in peace-keeping missions to know that the question was of the utmost concern to the Organization and its Member States. In conclusion, he paid tribute to those who had given their lives in the service of peace and noted that the Sixth Committee was currently considering the adoption of a binding legal instrument to ensure the safety and protection of United Nations peace-keepers.

Draft resolution A/C.4/48/L.19: Strengthening United Nations command and control capabilities

6. Mr. HUSLID (Norway), introducing draft resolution A/C.4/48/L.19 on behalf of the five Nordic countries, Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Sweden and Norway, said that the rapid growth in the number, size, complexity and cost of United Nations peace-keeping operations was creating serious difficulties for the Organization in the effective management of those operations. Despite some successes - for example, in Cambodia - the operations in Somalia and the former Yugoslavia revealed weaknesses in the existing structures and organizational arrangements at United Nations Headquarters, which were responsible for the operational management of large-scale peace-keeping operations.

7. The Nordic countries believed that there was an urgent need to mobilize efforts to strengthen the capacities of the United Nations system in the areas of command, control and coordination of peace-keeping operations. That was one reason why the Foreign Ministers of the Nordic countries had decided to submit a draft resolution on that important question.

8. Paragraph 1 of the draft resolution stressed the need to strengthen the capabilities of the United Nations Secretariat, for the operational management, command and control of peace-keeping operations based on unity of instruction and clearly established lines of command.

9. In paragraph 2, the Secretary-General, in cooperation with the members of the Security Council, troop-contributing States and other interested Member States was called upon to review thoroughly and take urgent steps to strengthen current arrangements for political direction, military command and control and to improve coordination with humanitarian and civilian aspects of peace-keeping operations, both at United Nations Headquarters and in the field.

10. The Nordic countries viewed that exercise as a process aimed at the identification of practical proposals which could be implemented. In conclusion, he noted that the Nordic countries had held consultations with a

(Mr. Huslid, Norway)

broad range of delegations and their views had to a large extent been reflected in the draft resolution. He expressed the hope that the draft resolution would be adopted by consensus.

11. Ms. FRECHETTE (Canada) said that her country was very pleased that consultations had been launched within the Sixth Committee of the General Assembly on a binding agreement with respect to the protection of United Nations personnel throughout the world.

12. Canada had for many years contributed troops to multilateral United Nations peace-keeping operations. It had participated effectively in peace enforcement missions in Kuwait and Somalia mandated by the United Nations. There was, however, a need to review carefully in what circumstances such missions were best launched, whether they were compatible with each other, and how to ensure better communication among decision makers, both between the peace-keeping forces and Headquarters and between the Secretariat, the troop contributors and the members of the Security Council.

13. Her delegation strongly supported the proposal for a review of the command and control requirements for the management of United Nations operations and favoured making more extensive use of meetings of troop-contributing countries.

14. United Nations peace-keeping operations could succeed only if their objectives were clear and if the resources needed to achieve them were available. The rapid and significant increase in the number and size of peace-keeping operations had led to the participation of many new troop-contributing countries. One lesson to be drawn from such large peace-keeping operations was that the integration of a large number of national contingents into a smoothly functioning and efficient force required training on the basis of a common curriculum. Canada supported the proposal for the establishment of a permanent United Nations staff college to prepare officers from all nations.

15. With regard to the Department of Peace-keeping Operations, she stressed the need to meet its staffing and resource requirements. Moreover, outdated budgetary rules and regulations which stifled the ability of the United Nations to take on new responsibilities rapidly and effectively needed to be adjusted or eliminated. She also welcomed the Department's plans to increase the capacity of United Nations Headquarters to plan and manage a growing number of sometimes extensive peace-keeping operations. The Secretariat should have the capability simultaneously to oversee and direct the activities of the various peace-keeping operations for which it was responsible. Her delegation would be delighted to participate in informal consultations on the matter.

16. Mr. SUCHARIPA (Austria) said that the Secretariat increasingly encountered serious difficulties in finding troop contributors. His country believed that the trend was not unrelated to the fact that owing to the large volume of outstanding contributions, reimbursements to troop-contributing countries had been delayed. There could be only one solution to the problem: to make sure that such financial obligations were met. His delegation believed that it would be appropriate to develop a set of incentives and penalties for timely and late payment, respectively.

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(Mr. Sucharipa, Austria)

17. Another decisive factor in the perception of peace-keeping operations was the role of the media. The United Nations should try to shape a positive image of peace-keeping operations. At the start of a peace-keeping operation there should be a professional media outreach programme and wide media coverage.

18. At a time when Member States evinced a growing reluctance to enter into new peace-keeping operations or to deploy personnel in substantial numbers, the United Nations should increase cooperation with regional arrangements and organizations and make more frequent use of preventive deployment. His delegation therefore strongly advocated that the United Nations should provide advice and assistance, share information and cooperate fully in the field. On 25 May 1993 the Austrian Government had decided to strengthen Austria's participation in United Nations peace-keeping operations. Austria would thus be able in the near future to comply more quickly and efficiently with requests from the United Nations and regional organizations.

19. With the rapid increase in the number of States contributing personnel and the manifold growth in the numbers of personnel deployed, training had become a priority. In an effort to make proper training available, Austria had developed institutions and programmes for training in both the military and the civilian fields. It had established the first training centre for civilian peace-keeping personnel. In cooperation with the United Nations, it would offer its programmes once again in 1994, covering such peace-keeping components as electoral monitoring, repatriation of refugees, human rights and democratization, and humanitarian assistance and rehabilitation.

20. Austria also welcomed the new practice of meetings of the Secretariat with troop-contributing countries. It constituted a first step towards the realization of his delegation's proposal concerning arrangements for consultations between troop contributors, the members of the Security Council and the United Nations Secretariat.

21. Mr. DAGOH (Togo) said that it emerged clearly from any consideration of the whole issue of peace-keeping operations that particular attention should be paid to preventive diplomacy, which was discussed in "An Agenda for Peace". It was generally accepted that the lasting settlement of internal and international conflicts could not be achieved by force. An analysis of the outcome of all wars and other manifestations of force plainly showed that they were not the best means of resolving a crisis. On the contrary, they did more harm than good.

22. The positive developments in the Middle East situation were eloquent testimony to the fact that only dialogue and concerted efforts based on understanding and political courage could lead to a satisfactory outcome to the conflict in that region. In his delegation's view, preventive diplomacy, which was largely predicated on dialogue and coordinated action, was, by its very nature, one of the most effective ways of preventing armed conflicts.

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(Mr. Dagoh, Togo)

23. The international community, and in particular the parties to conflicts, should make every effort to engage in a responsible search for peaceful ways of settling disputes and conflicts. In that context, it was desirable that the United Nations should give greater attention to bringing together the parties to a conflict, with the aim of finding a political settlement of their disputes by negotiation.

24. Maintaining peace also meant restricting the spread of the means to wage war or to use force of any kind. In that connection, his delegation urged that further steps should be taken towards arms limitation and disarmament, so that an unrestrained arms race did not become yet another element in stirring up conflicts which required the launching of numerous peace-keeping operations.

25. His delegation considered that the proposals in the Secretary-General's report relating to the safety of United Nations forces and personnel deserved attention and would contribute to the success of peace-keeping operations. With regard to cooperation between regional organizations and the United Nations, he noted that the crisis management machinery for Africa, established at the latest Summit Meeting of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, needed the support of the United Nations if it was to perform its role properly and achieve its stated objectives.

26. Mr. ZEGHIB (Algeria) said that the significant increase in the number and scale of peace-keeping operations since the end of the 1980s, and their transformation from the traditional type of operations into missions where large numbers of personnel were deployed, afforded ample proof of the need to strengthen the Organization's potential in that area. The Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations should step up its efforts with a view to making an appropriate contribution to the process of evaluating and amending the conceptual bases for and practical aspects of peace-keeping operations, taking into account the wide range of responsibilities involved in carrying out such activities.

27. Peace-keeping operations would not achieve their intended purpose unless appropriate political and organizational conditions for them were established. Given the complexity and diversity of the tasks involved in peace-keeping activities, and in the light of the experience gained from the operation in Somalia, it was essential to examine carefully the various stages of each operation so as to obtain an overall picture of the situation. Each stage must represent a further step towards a political solution. Attention could thus be focused on the key problem, thus allowing headway to be made in the political process and reducing the cost of the operation. However, certain political and conceptual problems would first have to be resolved, and steps should be taken to ensure the effective cooperation of States with the United Nations.

28. The basic principles of peace-keeping operations should be observed with regard to future as well as current operations. Principles such as cease-fire arrangements, the consent of the parties to the conflict to the deployment of such operations, non-use of force except in cases of self-defence, and impartiality, must continue to remain vitally important elements in ensuring the success of peace-keeping operations.

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(Mr. Zeghib, Algeria)

29. In that connection, it should be recalled that the provisions of Article 2 of the Charter must remain the cornerstone of the Organization's activities. Respect for the sovereignty of Member States and non-interference in their internal affairs were unshakeable principles which should not be called into question through the establishment of a peace-keeping mechanism in Member States. Such principles must form an integral part of the review of the recommendations contained in "An Agenda for Peace". During the consideration of that document, a number of promising ideas had been put forward on extending enlargement of the mandate and range of tasks traditionally assigned to peace-keeping missions. A case in point were the proposals relating to preventive deployment - an approach already implemented before its modalities had even been discussed. There was a risk of preventive deployment of peace-keeping forces missions extending beyond traditional peace-keeping activities and violating the principle of neutrality of the United Nations if troops were deployed on one side of a potential line of conflict without the agreement of all parties concerned.

30. With regard to financing of peace-keeping operations, the cost of such operations should be governed by the provisions of Article 17 of the Charter of the United Nations, and the traditional method for calculating contributions should be maintained. However, the special responsibility of the permanent members of the Security Council in that connection and the ability of developing countries to pay should also be taken into account.

31. Steps must be taken to organize basic training on peace-keeping matters for all troop-providing countries. Algeria supported the efforts by the Department of Peace-keeping Operations and the United Nations Institute for Training and Research to develop training courses along those lines. It was also essential to develop training methods for special groups of civilian personnel, particularly those who supervised elections, and to implement the Secretary-General's proposal aimed at establishing an annual fellowship programme for national peace-keeping trainers, as provided in paragraph 30 of General Assembly resolution 47/71 of 14 December 1992.

32. Recent events in the former Yugoslavia and in Somalia had highlighted the problem of the safety of United Nations personnel. The difficult situation in that respect required the adoption of practical measures aimed at creating the political and legal conditions necessary for an effective solution to the security problems of United Nations staff in conflict areas. His delegation considered that the idea of drafting an international convention on the subject would be well received by the international community.

33. Algeria was doing its utmost to support the implementation of the Settlement Plan adopted by the Security Council regarding the organization of a referendum for the self-determination of the people in Western Sahara. Algeria had provided the United Nations Mission for the Referendum in Western Sahara (MINURSO) with a number of aircraft and motor vehicles, as well as accommodation, equipment, medical supplies, heating and other goods to meet the needs of MINURSO and the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees in connection with operations for the repatriation of Saharan refugees.

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(Mr. Zeghib, Algeria)

He emphasized the fact that his Government, under its agreement with the United Nations, had undertaken to grant MINURSO the privileges and immunities required to facilitate its activities and to fulfil its mandate freely and without hindrance. The scope of the application of the agreement had been broadened and the Government of Algeria had also granted comparable privileges and immunities to the Blue Helmets and to the observers of both parties, as well as those belonging to the Organization of African Unity, who, in accordance with the provisions of the Settlement Plan, were invited to participate in the process of its implementation.

34. In conclusion, he observed that the United Nations peace-keeping activities could be improved in two ways: first, by making United Nations efforts more effective, and secondly, by establishing a mechanism for cooperation with regional organizations which, in collaboration with the United Nations, might assume responsibility for the prevention and settlement of conflicts in their respective regions.

35. Mr. WAQANISAU (Fiji) said that the lessons to be learned from the Somalia operation should serve as a warning for future peace-keeping activities. It had been thought that the problem could be resolved through aggressive peace enforcement, but the realities of the situation in Somalia had been overlooked. Aggressive intervention by the United Nations in such a civil conflict made the Organization no longer neutral, but one of the parties to the conflict. Moreover, no steps had been taken to encourage negotiations between the parties to the conflict. It was important that the United Nations should become involved only in situations where there was a serious threat to international security or where humanitarian assistance was absolutely necessary. The involvement of the United Nations must be for a limited period of time only. In that connection, the mandates for operations must include clearly defined transitional periods and a phasing-out process for the peace-keeping forces. The operations must serve as a catalyst for active negotiations among all parties concerned with a view to reaching a universally acceptable solution.

36. The United Nations should review its current peace-keeping operations with a view to discontinuing those which would not achieve success due to the lack of political will on the part of the parties to the conflict to resolve their differences. If two civilized States which were parties to a conflict could not resolve their differences within 10 years, then it was unlikely that they would achieve success even in 20 years, and the Organization should not continue to spend time, money or resources on such operations.

37. With the growth in number and scope of United Nations peace-keeping operations, increasing importance attached to the safety and protection of peace-keeping personnel. The United Nations had the primary responsibility to protect its personnel, and should therefore continue to search for practical means of creating the necessary political and legal environment for dealing effectively with the problem of the growing vulnerability of United Nations personnel deployed in conflict areas. The safety of United Nations personnel deployed under a Security Council mandate must be ensured by the States in whose territory they were deployed.

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(Mr. Waganisau, Fiji)

38. The sharp rise in demand for peace-keeping operations, as well as the expansion of their scope, had created an urgent need to develop uniform standards for peace-keeping operations. A key factor in attaining that goal was professional training, which should be based on a standardized curriculum and should aim at creating an international peace-keeping personnel with comparable skills, knowledge, discipline and code of conduct and able to work together effectively.

39. The current financial situation of peace-keeping operations remained a source of serious concern. The amount of outstanding assessed contributions was even greater in 1993 than in previous years, owing to the sharp rise in overall peace-keeping expenditures. Peace-keeping was the collective responsibility of all Member States under the Charter, and all assessed contributions should therefore be paid in full and on time.

40. Mr. PIBULSONGGRAM (Thailand), speaking on behalf of the six member States of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN), said that ASEAN recognized the central role played by the United Nations in the maintenance of international peace and security. ASEAN attached great importance to preventive diplomacy, and considered that it should be further developed through the adoption of such measures as confidence-building, fact-finding and early warning. It was vital that potential conflicts should be identified and contained before they erupted. ASEAN supported various efforts to establish an effective early warning mechanism, and considered that regional organizations could play an important role in early warning.

41. ASEAN recognized that a solid and stable financial foundation was a vital precondition for the effective implementation of all United Nations programmes and activities. It once again urged all Member States to pay their assessed contributions in full and on time and, stressed the importance of reimbursing troop-contributing States without delay. ASEAN also believed that personnel offered for peace-keeping activities must be extremely competent, experienced and well trained and that their training should be based on agreed United Nations standards and concepts of operations.

42. While it accepted that the Security Council should remain the primary organ for the maintenance of international peace and security, ASEAN believed that the General Assembly, as a universal body, should also be utilized where necessary in pre-empting or containing situations which threatened international peace and security. That could be achieved by improving coordination between the Security Council and the General Assembly on issues affecting international peace and security, so as to enable the General Assembly to exercise its functions and powers.

43. Speaking on behalf of his own country, he said that, as a member of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations and as a troop-contributing country, Thailand was following United Nations peace-keeping operations with close attention.

(Mr. Pibulsonggram, Thailand)

44. Although his delegation believed that United Nations peace-keeping operations were a vital element in Untied Nations efforts to maintain international peace and security, it was concerned by the growing expenditure on peace-keeping, and believed that it would be more cost-effective, in the long term, to focus efforts on strengthening the Organization's potential in the field of preventive diplomacy and peacemaking, in accordance with Chapter VI of the Charter. In addition, his delegation believed that further cooperation and coordination should be encouraged between the United Nations and regional organizations.

45. His delegation attached great importance to the questions of planning, control and coordination of peace-keeping operations and, in that regard, noted with satisfaction that the Secretary-General had implemented the Special Committee's recommendation regarding the transfer of the Field Operations Division to the Department of Peace-keeping Operations. Thailand would support efforts by the Secretary-General to strengthen and reform units of the Secretariat concerned with peace-keeping.

46. As a troop-contributing country, Thailand shared the concern expressed by other delegations at the increasing number of casualties incurred during United Nations peace-keeping operations. Since the task of United Nations peace-keeping personnel was to maintain international peace and security, they should be adequately protected. In his report, the Secretary-General had stated that, while the primary responsibility for the safety of United Nations personnel rested with the host Government, developments over the previous year had revealed certain gaps in the existing system. His delegation therefore welcomed the initiatives proposed by New Zealand and Ukraine in that area, as well as the decision to establish a working group within the Sixth Committee to study those proposals.

47. His delegation believed that, to ensure the effective and smooth running of a peace-keeping operation, the Security Council and the General Assembly should carefully analyse a given situation before launching a peace-keeping operation. In each case, a realistic, clear and precise mandate should be formulated. Furthermore, the Security Council should periodically review the effectiveness of each operation.

48. Mr. Sengwe (Zimbabwe), Vice-Chairman, took the Chair.

49. Mr. KOO (Singapore) said that the Non-Aligned Movement constantly maintained that the United Nations should not become involved in any situation where there was a power struggle between opposing factions in a country. That problem was the internal affair of a sovereign State, and the Organization should remain impartial even if one or another faction appealed to it for help. Specific provisions to that effect were contained in Article 2 of the Charter of the United Nations. That did not mean, however, that the Organization should not offer its good offices to mediate and help achieve a peaceful political solution. Non-governmental organizations could also assist in resolving humanitarian problems caused by civil wars. As for massive refugee flows

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(Mr. Koo, Singapore)

generated by internal conflicts, assistance to those refugees and to the countries in which they sought refuge should be furnished by humanitarian organizations and the specialized agencies of the United Nations.

50. Internal conflicts could lead to the collapse of effective, central government or the creation of two rival "governments", each of which claimed to be the legitimate government. One of them might appeal to the Organization to intervene and restore order. Intervention by the Organization in such situations should be limited to fact-finding and/or mediation and good offices, especially when it had been established that there was no threat to international peace and stability.

51. The situation could worsen even further, in association with such phenomena as chaos, famine, massive refugee outflows, and the absence of effective government. In such cases, the Security Council should debate the necessity and wisdom of humanitarian and/or peace-keeping operations and carry out the necessary consultations with neighbouring countries and relevant regional associations. It was only after it decided that there was a valid threat to international peace and security that the Security Council should authorize the establishment of an appropriate United Nations operation with a clear mandate, an accurate assessment of costs and fixed time-limits.

52. Political factors undoubtedly influenced decisions on United Nations involvement. For instance, a veto by a permanent member of the Security Council could block a proposed United Nations operation in a conflict in which that State's security interests could be affected. On the other hand, there could be conflicts that were so complex and intractable that the United Nations might hesitate to get involved, especially if those countries on which the United Nations depended to provide vital peace-keeping resources were unable or reluctant to provide support.

53. The situation could arise wherein the United Nations became one of the participants in a conflict and unintentionally lost its impartiality and credibility. That could happen, for instance, if the mandate had been imprecisely drafted because of a confused political situation. In such cases the Security Council should carefully analyse the situation and, if necessary, decide to revise the mandate. The Council might even decide to withdraw the operation or to suspend it temporarily until conditions improved.

54. Because of the complexities of the challenges currently confronting the United Nations, the doctrine of United Nations peace-keeping operations needed to be revised. In the decision-making process, the United Nations must remain steadfast to the principles laid down in the Charter. It appeared that the United Nations was increasingly being asked to become involved in internal conflicts where the traditional guidelines became blurred or obsolete. In obvious cases of aggression by one country against another, the path for United Nations involvement was clear, but in situations of internal conflict, the United Nations must exercise wisdom and political judgement in deciding on whether to become involved, through peace-keeping or enforcement action.

55. Mr. Kalpage (Sri Lanka) resumed the Chair.

56. Mr. BROUHNS (Belgium), speaking on behalf of the European Union, stressed the importance of United Nations peace-keeping operations and said that to date the European Union had assigned over 26,000 military personnel and civilian police to peace-keeping operations, which represented slightly less than one third of the total number of persons currently engaged in such operations. Its financial contributions amounted to over 30 per cent of the budget for those operations.

57. Peace-keeping operations had undergone qualitative and quantitative changes. His delegation commended the role played by the staff of the Secretariat in that respect. In addition to peace-keeping as such, peace-keeping operations now aimed to resolve new problems and involved, in particular, the delivery of humanitarian assistance, assistance in conducting elections, and monitoring of human rights.

58. The preventive deployment of troops and the establishment of demilitarized zones were of great importance. The success of the preventive deployment of the United Nations Protection Force in Macedonia could serve as an example for the future. Regional agreements and bodies should play a more prominent role in the maintenance or restoration of peace in their own regions. In particular, the development of relations between the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and the United Nations was to be welcomed. The European Union, for its part, had decided to continue its active cooperation with the United Nations in the settlement of the Yugoslav crisis.

59. The transfer of the Field Operations Division to the Department of Peace-keeping Operations was an important step which should lead to positive results. The European Union welcomed the proposals for the strengthening of the Department of Peace-keeping Operations put forward by the Secretary-General in the proposed programme budget for the biennium, and also the establishment of a situation centre and of a logistics planning capability, which would help increase the effectiveness of the reforms carried out.

60. The European Union was following with interest the consultations undertaken by the Secretariat on the question of stand-by peace-keeping forces and hoped that they would soon be completed. Special attention should be paid to the training and refresher training of personnel, including military personnel. The specific problems which were encountered during peace-keeping operations gave rise to a need for closer coordination. In that connection, recommendations should be formulated for the standardization of the personnel training process.

61. A single command and control structure was essential. There was no doubt that the contingents which took part in individual United Nations operations should be completely subordinate to the command structure of the United Nations. In that context, the European Union supported the approach put forward in draft resolution A/C.4/48/L.19.

62. The European Union paid tribute to the military and civilian personnel who had given their lives in the service of the United Nations, and also to those who were currently serving in exceptionally difficult and dangerous circumstances. In accordance with the Special Committee's recommendation to the

(Mr. Brouhns, Belgium)

Secretariat, arrangements should be made for the names of the people who had lost their lives in peace-keeping operations to be inscribed on the wall of the United Nations Headquarters building in a place that was visible to the public.

63. Increasing concern was being expressed about security problems in peace-keeping operations. It was commendable that emphasis was currently being laid on the need to take security issues fully into account in the planning of operations. In that respect, while decisive and coordinated measures needed to be taken by various bodies of the United Nations, basic responsibility lay with the receiving country. The Sixth Committee was carrying out very important work on an international legal instrument regarding the safety and security of peace-keeping personnel. In the short term, the inclusion of provisions on security matters in the text of status-of-forces agreements should be encouraged.

64. The problem of the perception of peace-keeping operations by public opinion was important. His delegation favoured the adoption by the Department of Public Information of a communications strategy making use of all modern means of communication. Such a strategy would make it possible both to inform populations regarding the nature of United Nations peace-keeping operations and provide the mass media with objective information which would prevent the formation of misconceptions about them.

65. It must again be noted that the financial situation of the peace-keeping operations remained precarious: over the past two years arrears for peace-keeping contributions had almost doubled. One of the most serious aspects of the problem was the delay in the payment of compensation to the countries contributing troops. The member States of the European Union were particularly concerned because in the aggregate they were the largest contributors of both money and troops. The European Union considered it of vital importance for all member States to pay their assessed contributions fully, promptly and unconditionally. It was also unfortunate that the reserve fund for peace-keeping operations had not yet reached a satisfactory level, in spite of the relevant decisions, and that it was being used for purposes other than those it had been intended for.

66. The European Union and its member States considered that the time had come to break with the present approach to the problem of managing peace-keeping operations. It was to be hoped that the current session of the General Assembly would be able to take a decision on that question. The European Union and its member States were in favour of establishing a more effective system of financial control of peace-keeping operations, including auditing and inspection.

67. Mr. MAKKAWI (Lebanon) said that in the present circumstances, when preventive diplomacy, peace-keeping and peacemaking were the defining characteristics of conflict resolution, the challenge of constructing a better peace-keeping framework remained before the United Nations and its Member States. Over the past year, the discussions in the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations had yielded a wealth of constructive views and recommendations making it possible to identify the priorities regarding the future of peace-keeping operations and begin to work towards their realization.

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68. One of the major accomplishments of the recent period had been the integration of the Field Operations Division into the Department of Peace-keeping Operations. Under the management of one body, there was sure to be increased cohesion, improved technical and administrative support and better planning and coordination, all of which were essential to effective operations. Another accomplishment furthering effectiveness was the provision of training manuals for military and civilian personnel. The work of establishing an international pool of civilians had begun with the establishment by the Secretary-General of a planning team whose aim was to identify standard components to serve a variety of peace-keeping operations. That work should be expanded to include the development of a standard peace-keeping training curriculum as well as standard training programmes for specific categories of personnel. Enhanced communication between Headquarters and the field should be established. Press and public information must also be given priority.

69. The establishment of a Peace-keeping Reserve Fund of $150 million should make it possible to respond to global emergencies while at the same time cutting costs through early conflict resolution. The physical security of all United Nations peace-keeping personnel was also of critical importance. The Secretary-General had offered several workable proposals, which his delegation supported, intended to fill existing gaps and strengthen current machinery for security monitoring. Most encouraging was the inclusion of safety considerations in the planning of all operations.

70. Lebanon's relationship with United Nations peace-keeping had been long. However, the implementation of Security Council resolution 425 (1978) and other subsequent resolutions calling for the immediate withdrawal of Israeli occupying forces from Lebanese territory had not taken place because of Israel's refusal to abide by those resolutions. The success of peacemaking and peace-keeping rested on strict adherence to the provisions of the United Nations Charter and compliance with international law concerning the rights and obligations of States. Lebanon had taken the appropriate steps towards strengthening its internal position: full governmental authority had been restored, progress in national reconstruction was under way and the gradual deployment of Lebanese armed forces to UNIFIL areas was continuing steadily. Lebanon had proved its capacity to restore peace throughout the country. The responsibility for the failure to implement Security Council resolution 425 lay squarely with Israel. As the Secretary-General had stated, the success of democracy rested largely on the existence of peaceful conditions, and his delegation hoped that the ongoing peace process would achieve a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in the Middle East. However, if a mutually agreed upon peace settlement was not forthcoming, the United Nations must seriously consider upgrading peace-keeping to peacemaking in Lebanon. That was the duty of the United Nations and the right of Lebanon.

71. Mr. ZHANG Yan (China) said that peace-keeping operations were one of the most important activities of the United Nations. Analysis of the successes and lessons of the peace-keeping operations in recent years showed that adherence to the principles and purposes of the United Nations Charter was an important condition for the effectiveness of those operations. Respect for national sovereignty and non-interference in the internal affairs of Member States were

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(Mr. Zhang Yan, China)

important principles of the Charter and should also be the guidelines for peace-keeping activities. China considered that at any time and under any circumstances, the consent and cooperation of the relevant Governments or parties must be obtained in carrying out activities of preventive diplomacy of peace-keeping. At the same time, the United Nations must adopt a neutral, fair and impartial approach and in no way involve itself in the internal conflicts of any country. Only in that way could United Nations preventive diplomacy and peace-keeping operations give expression to the fundamental principles and purposes of the United Nations Charter and achieve positive results.

72. The settlement of international conflicts by peaceful means was another important guideline that should be observed in peace-keeping operations. Before a conflict erupted, efforts should be made to bring opposing parties to the negotiating table and solve the problem through peaceful negotiations and consultations. That, in a sense, constituted preventive diplomacy. The indiscriminate use of sanctions or force in the name of the United Nations was neither helpful in resolving problems nor in keeping with the spirit of the Charter, and damaged the credibility of the United Nations. As long as there was still hope for a peaceful solution to a conflict, the effort to achieve it should not be given up. The practice of stopping a war by expanding it was unacceptable.

73. In recent years, there had been a sharp increase in United Nations peace-keeping operations, which involved 80,000 personnel and an expenditure of $3.7 billion. As a result, the United Nations and its Member States were bearing a huge burden in terms of human, financial and material resources, and the Organization's financial situation was deteriorating. In order to reverse that situation, it was necessary to strengthen management in the preparation and implementation of peace-keeping operations; accurately assess the situation involved and chose the appropriate timing for intervention; and recognize that the United Nations alone could not settle all international conflicts and disputes. While the Organization's leading role should be maintained it was also necessary to encourage regional organizations to assume greater responsibility and play a more positive role in accordance with the provisions of Chapter VIII of the Charter of the United Nations.

74. With the intensification of regional conflicts and wars and repeated violations of peace agreements in recent years, the safety and security of United Nations peace-keeping personnel were seriously endangered. Casualties among those personnel had multiplied. Two members of the Chinese engineering detachment had lost their lives in the United Nations peace-keeping operation in Cambodia. That situation had caused widespread concern in the international community. It was necessary to adopt urgent, effective and practical measures to ensure the safety of peace-keeping personnel. Peace-keeping operations would play an increasingly important role in international affairs as long as the guiding principles contained in the Charter were observed. China was ready to make further contributions to United Nations peace-keeping activities and participate actively in them.

75. Mr. OULD MOHAMED MAHMOUD (Mauritania) said that the United Nations should foster a dynamic and comprehensive dialogue conducive to social and economic development and international peace and security. In keeping with its mandate, the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations should consider such operations in all their aspects and submit appropriate recommendations to the General Assembly. His delegation had examined the report of the Special Committee (A/48/173) and the reports of the Secretary-General (A/48/349 and A/48/470), which were important contributions to the work of the Committee.

76. More effective coordination was needed among the parties, agencies, bodies and services involved in peace-keeping operations. Moreover, the scale and complexity of modern peace-keeping operations and the conditions in which they were conducted underscore the Organization's need for qualified personnel. It was also necessary to ensure the safety of peace-keeping personnel, since there had been a considerable increase in the number of casualties in various regions. In the first half of 1993 alone, 97 United Nations staff had lost their lives, as compared with 51 staff in all of 1992. His delegation welcomed the fact that the General Assembly, in its resolution 47/72 of 14 December 1992, and the Security Council, in its resolution 868 (1993) of 29 September 1993 had taken note of the seriousness of the situation and were considering appropriate measures.

77. It was significant that, on the eve of the fiftieth anniversary of the United Nations, the concept of preventive diplomacy had become one of the most important aspects of peace-keeping. It was, of course, much easier to prevent crises and conflicts than to eliminate them. Moreover, the international community should endeavour to prevent the disastrous consequences with which conflicts were usually fraught. Cooperation between the United Nations and regional agreements should be perceived as a priority area for developing concrete measures to encourage preventive diplomacy.

78. Every effort should be made to put in place reliable means to prevent the spread of potential conflicts and mitigate the consequences of existing crises. However, the reliability of such means would depend on the success achieved in combating the root causes of tension, in particular economic and social inequality, which gave rise to crises and conflicts. Only a just world order was capable of eliminating those causes and guaranteeing peace and stability, which in turn were prerequisites for economic and social development.

79. Mr. OPLE (Philippines) said that the increase in the scope, complexity and cost of United Nations peace-keeping operations necessitated greater participation by all Member States in the decision-making process. That would entail more transparency and openness than currently existed, particularly on the part of the Security Council. While the Security Council had the primary responsibility for maintaining international peace and security, the General Assembly also had a key role to play in that regard. An important way to achieve that would be through greater coordination between the Assembly and the Council. It was also important, for purposes of transparency and coherence, that all issues involving peace-keeping operations were considered in a single body in a comprehensive manner.

(Mr. Ople, Philippines)

80. His delegation supported the view that the increase in the complexity and costs of United Nations peace-keeping operations in general required the timely provision of financial, human and material resources. It was necessary to ensure that demands for conflict resolution did not outstrip the Organization's material capacity and did not adversely affect other United Nations priorities such as the promotion of development. However, while fully aware of the need for payment of assessed contributions in full and on time, many delegations questioned the need to reimburse all outstanding dues to troop-contributing States, including the Philippines, without delay, as well as improved procedures for reimbursement for depreciation of contingent-owned equipment deployed at the request of the United Nations. Those concerns were especially critical to developing countries, such as the Philippines, which despite financial and development problems, had participated in peace-keeping operations because of their commitment to the principle of collective responsibility for maintaining international peace and security. In spite of the financial burden, the Philippines was currently evaluating its approach to peace-keeping operations. Recently, the President of the Philippines had informed the Secretary-General that the Philippines might form a properly trained stand-by battalion to be made available upon request, especially for deployment in its own region. It had been agreed that such steps would require the prior approval of the Congress of the Philippines. With regard to the issue of command control, which was a key aspect of peace-keeping operations, his delegation supported the proposal to strengthen the Secretariat's specific ability to manage, command and control United Nations peace-keeping operations.

81. His delegation noted with interest the recent proposals relating to the mandates of peace-keeping operations. Resolutions establishing peace-keeping operations should indicate a precise mandate and a clear objective. The United Nations should develop a means for distinguishing between, for example, peace enforcement, preventive deployment and post-conflict peace-building. In addition, the mandate for peace-keeping operations must be in accordance with the provisions and principles of the Charter and the relevant resolutions. The time-frame of each mandate should also be clearly defined.

82. With regard to the issue of the peace-keeping role of the United Nations in the post-cold-war period, his delegation considered that it was necessary to develop an operational and conceptual framework consisting of elements and coherent criteria for the establishment of United Nations peace-keeping operations in accordance with the principles and provisions of the Charter. That framework would make it possible to decide when to deploy peace-keeping operations as a means of settling conflict, pre-conflict or post-conflict situations, which posed or could pose a threat to international peace and security, and to address the questions of time-limits, methods and the scope of such operations.

The meeting rose at 1.20 p.m.

UNITED NATIONS
General Assembly
FORTY-EIGHTH SESSION
Official Records

SPECIAL POLITICAL AND
DECOLONIZATION COMMITTEE
(FOURTH COMMITTEE)
23rd meeting
held on
Monday, 29 November 1993
at 10 a.m.
New York

SUMMARY RECORD OF THE 23rd MEETING

Chairman: Mr. CHIRILA (Vice-Chairman) (Romania)

CONTENTS

AGENDA ITEM 87: COMPREHENSIVE REVIEW OF THE WHOLE QUESTION OF PEACE-KEEPING OPERATIONS IN ALL THEIR ASPECTS (continued)

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Distr. GENERAL
A/C.4/48/SR.23
8 February 1994
ENGLISH
ORIGINAL: FRENCH

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In the absence of Mr. Kalpage (Sri Lanka), Mr. Chirila (Romania), Vice-Chairman, took the Chair.

The meeting was called to order at 10.20 a.m.

AGENDA ITEM 87: COMPREHENSIVE REVIEW OF THE WHOLE QUESTION OF PEACE-KEEPING OPERATIONS IN ALL THEIR ASPECTS (*continued*) (A/48/158, A/48/173, A/48/291-S/26242, A/48/349-S/26358, A/48/403/Add.1 and Add.1/Corr.1-S/26450/Add.1 and Add.1/Corr.1, A/48/515-S/26605; A/C.4/48/L.18 and L.19)

1. Mr. SALMI (Finland), speaking on behalf of Denmark, Iceland, Norway, Sweden and Finland, said that the Nordic countries had strongly supported the concept of peace-keeping from the very beginning and participated in nearly all related activities. They had taken an active part in the work of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations with the aim of streamlining and strengthening the United Nations capacity for peace-keeping operations and improving their cost-effectiveness.

2. Over the years, in response to the increasing demands on the Organization, a broadened security concept had strengthened the links between the political, military and civilian aspects of peace-keeping. The United Nations was currently endeavouring to create the political structures needed for long-term peaceful and democratic development. Peace-keeping operations thus often included civilian police, election officers, human rights monitors and political advisers. In addition to dealing with traditional conflicts between States, the United Nations was being called upon increasingly also to help solve internal conflicts.

3. The rapid increase in both the size and complexity of peace-keeping operations required greater resources and better planning, organization and coordination both at Headquarters and in the field, and they must be managed in a more effective and responsible manner. Regional organizations and arrangements had an important role to play in the efforts to strengthen the United Nations capacity to maintain international peace and security, with cooperative arrangements elaborated on the basis of a clear division of labour.

4. Peace-keeping should always be linked to a political process, either as a way of helping to find political solutions or of implementing negotiated agreements. Most of the problems encountered in peace-keeping operations had their roots in inadequate personnel or material and financial resources. The most difficult and urgent question was how to improve the financial situation of the Organization. Each new mission entrusted to the Organization by the Member States must be given the resources needed to carry it out; that would, in particular, allow the troop-contributing countries to be promptly reimbursed for both personnel and equipment. At the same time, it was clear that the United Nations must use its resources with maximum efficiency. The Nordic countries thus looked forward to the results of the discussions in the Fifth Committee on the report prepared by the Independent Advisory Group on United Nations Financing.

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(Mr. Salmi, Finland)

5. The speed with which the United Nations could deploy the needed personnel into a mission area was one of the crucial factors for the success of peace-keeping operations. To improve the current situation, the United Nations should have stand-by staff who could take part from the start in the planning and the preparatory phase of an operation. It should also be able to draw at short notice upon a sufficient number of trained and equipped units and personnel, both military and civilian. The division of responsibility between the United Nations and the troop-contributing countries should be clarified. The United Nations should be responsible for making the necessary overall arrangements for providing logistical and administrative support. The troop-contributing countries, on the other hand, should furnish their troops with the necessary equipment. Those countries able to do so should earmark military and civilian troops for stand-by arrangements or else earmark equipment and means of transport. The Member States should keep updated lists of personnel and equipment made available to the United Nations, which would draw upon them as needed. The personnel should be trained by making use of existing facilities of Member States, in cooperation when possible with regional organizations or arrangements. The Secretariat should establish guidelines, coordinate the training and provide other forms of assistance.

6. Guaranteeing respect for the safety of peace-keeping personnel was an extremely urgent issue. In addition to the legal steps currently being discussed in the Sixth Committee, it was essential to take concrete action for the physical protection of the personnel, and to lay down clear, effective operating procedures.

7. The Nordic countries welcomed the establishment of a situation centre giving up-to-date information on certain peace-keeping operations, and would also like to have the Secretariat report regularly on all operations.

8. In view of the expansion of peace-keeping operations, the Secretariat should be strengthened as proposed in the programme budget of the Organization. The Nordic countries approved of the transfer of the Field Operations Division to the Department of Peace-keeping Operations. However, neither organizational changes nor the reallocation of existing Secretariat staff would be enough. A thorough revision of working methods and administrative procedures was also needed. In particular, the submission of budget proposals for peace-keeping operations should be speeded up, especially by using standardized cost estimates. Current arrangements for the political direction, military command and control and overall coordination of the operations needed to be strengthened, as did the mechanism for consultation and exchange of information between the Secretariat, members of the Security Council and the troop-contributing countries.

9. The ambitions, tasks and goals as well as the limits of peace-keeping should be carefully studied and weighed against the actual willingness of Member States to provide the necessary resources and participate in the operations. Also, a common understanding should be reached on the concepts, terminology and operational framework involved in the new generation of extended peace-keeping operations. The Nordic countries themselves, despite the public criticism

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(Mr. Salmi, Finland)

directed at peace-keeping operations, reiterated their strong support for peace-keeping activities and their continued willingness to participate in them.

10. Mr. KA (Senegal) said that a number of requirements must be met when a peace-keeping operation was launched: there must be a clear and precise definition of its mandate, proper planning, and a publicity campaign on the objectives sought. The success of the operation also required skilled and coordinated personnel who were prepared to respect the customs and usages prevailing in the areas of action.

11. The availability of the necessary financing and of appropriate logistical means was also an essential condition for the success of such operations. Since the financial problems encountered by the Organization resulted mainly from the non-payment of contributions by Member States, especially the developing countries, which had been hard hit by a difficult economic and financial situation, greater sacrifice on the part of the developed countries must be encouraged. In that respect, the establishment of the Peace-keeping Reserve Fund was to be welcomed; however, there should be an increase in its initial level. As to the mandate for peace-keeping operations, it should be better defined and more clearly explained with the help of the Department of Public Information.

12. The difficulties encountered in peace-keeping operations demonstrated the need to tackle the deep-seated causes of current crises, so as to limit the number and consequences of such crises. In that respect, preventive diplomacy had a significant role to play. Greater cooperation between the United Nations and regional bodies would be desirable. Moreover, if Member States maintained stand-by forces specialized in peace-keeping operations, rapid and effective deployment would be possible if the need arose. An increase in assistance to the development of poor countries would also help reduce tension, much of which derived from rivalry among human groups for survival. The ultimate objective of the Organization would not be achieved unless it was able to replace peace-keeping operations by development and to support democratic processes that were under way in order to establish conditions for a world order based on a spirit of partnership and solidarity.

13. Mr. HATANO (Japan), offering some suggestions for the improvement of peace-keeping operations, said that it must be recognized, at the planning and preparation stage, that every international conflict was unique, and was shaped by the historical, ethnic and social experiences of the parties in dispute. When the Security Council decided to launch a peace-keeping operation, it should have the most accurate information possible regarding the nature and probable development of the conflict. Member States with superior information-gathering capabilities should provide the United Nations with relevant data. Fact-finding missions should be dispatched promptly to sites of conflict. It would be useful to strengthen cooperation between the United Nations and regional organizations and arrangements in maintaining peace.

14. The mandate and period of deployment of a peace-keeping operation should be determined on the basis of the nature and goals of the operation. A sunset

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(Mr. Hatano, Japan)

clause could be introduced to avoid any undue prolongation of deployment. Once a peace-keeping operation was mandated, it must be promptly deployed and fully equipped. Preparedness for emergency deployment should be discussed by the Secretariat with possible troop-contributing countries. In that respect, the possibility of establishing a data bank on the capabilities of Member States deserved consideration. The Special Committee's recommendations regarding the organization and effectiveness of peace-keeping personnel should also be discussed by the Secretariat and Member States. The planning and management capabilities of the Department of Peace-keeping Operations needed to be strengthened.

15. The deployment of a United Nations peace-keeping operation was not a substitute for the political settlement of a conflict. The role of the United Nations in fostering the peace process was catalytic in nature. In that context, peace-keeping operations were only one factor in a chain of efforts - from conflict prevention and the peaceful settlement of disputes to peace-building, including the reconstruction of the country or region concerned.

16. On the question of the financing of peace-keeping activities, every peace-keeping operation must be thoroughly reviewed and a cost-benefit analysis must be performed. In that way, some activities could be scaled down and the launching of unnecessary new operations could be avoided. The Peace-keeping Reserve Fund, which had been established on the initiative of Japan to ensure the availability of adequate resources for start-up costs of new operations, should be promptly funded in accordance with General Assembly resolution 47/217. The United Nations financial control mechanisms for peace-keeping operations should be improved through a system of internal and external controls, including audit and inspection.

17. On the question of safety of personnel, his delegation noted with appreciation the discussions under way in the Sixth Committee on the formulation of an international legal instrument regarding the safety and security of United Nations peace-keeping personnel. It wished to stress that the objectives of peace-keeping operations could not be achieved without the understanding, assistance and support of the population of the host country. The host country therefore had an obligation to inform the population about the role, mandate and function of a peace-keeping operation within its borders and to inform the peace-keepers of any dangers or military developments which could jeopardize their lives. The authorities of host countries should be required to punish those who took any hostile action against United Nations personnel. It would also be helpful to raise public awareness in participating countries of the achievements of peace-keeping personnel.

18. Peace-keeping personnel affected by epidemic and endemic disease outnumbered those killed by hostile actions. Host countries and the relevant bodies of the United Nations must therefore pay greater attention to improving sanitary conditions in the field.

(Mr. Hatano, Japan)

19. In conclusion, he referred to Japan's adoption of the International Peace Cooperation Law in 1992 by which it legally institutionalized its participation in United Nations peace-keeping efforts.

20. Mr. POLOWCZYK (Poland) said that the soaring demand on peace-keeping operations, together with the substantial evolution of the mandates, had been followed by Poland with great attention and sometimes with concern. The operations carried out by the United Nations were deviating more and more from the so-called traditional concepts such as the supervision of elections, economic rehabilitation and development, emergency humanitarian assistance and human rights monitoring. Although considering the situation to be in the right direction, Poland was anxious about the growing tendency to resort to peace-keeping operations as the only panacea for the solution of conflicts throughout the world. It seemed that there was still no adequate balance between peace-keeping and other mechanisms of the crisis management. Poland had in mind specifically greater involvement of the parties to conflicts by solving them politically and by early detection of conflict situations allowing preventive diplomacy.

21. Preventive diplomacy, peace-keeping, peacemaking and peace enforcement required sound guidelines and detailed planning in operational terms. The results of the current session of the Special Committee of Peace-keeping Operations and other formal and informal forums within the United Nations left us assured about the international community's determination to achieve significant progress in that regard.

22. The new tasks, in the dynamic period of the world's transition, were more complex, difficult and more important than in the past, and the difficulties were aggravated by the scarcity of resources at the disposal of the United Nations Secretariat. In that context Poland fully supported the Secretary-General's efforts to reorganize the Secretariat and strengthen its peace-keeping management and planning capacity. Poland welcomed with great satisfaction the latest decision to transfer the Field Operations Division to the Department of Peace-keeping Operations. It should be followed by steps to strengthen the Secretariat's capability for overall, including political, evaluation and analysis of peace-keeping operations from their initial stages to their conclusion. Poland also welcomed the process of transforming the "situation room" into a "centre" equipped with appropriate communications and information management systems to monitor and enhance the management of all peace-keeping operations. Poland followed with great interest the work of the Stand-by Forces Planning Team and was willing to assign a number of military units to be at the Security Council's disposal for use in the peace-keeping operations on a permanent basis.

23. The problems concerning clarity of the mandate of peace-keeping operations, their time-frame and management required special attention of the United Nations. Those operations were only temporary arrangements which could not be substituted for a political solution of the conflicts primarily by the parties involved. The Security Council should therefore reconsider periodically and, if

(Mr. Polowczyk, Poland)

there was such a need, even determine operations whose mandates had become unworkable.

24. One of the ways of making peace-keeping more effective was a constructive interaction between the United Nations and regional arrangements. There was a need to maintain close cooperation between the Secretariat and Member States, particularly the troop-contributing countries. That might result in deploying operations of joint national units composed of troops from several smaller countries in cooperation with countries able to provide troops but had only a limited personnel. Poland was ready to continue providing logistic units for peace-keeping operations.

25. Poland which had participated actively in eight peace-keeping operations was ready to share them with interested countries. In particular, the resources of the Kielce Military Centre were available for United Nations peace-keeping operations.

26. Owing to the growing number of casualties among both military and civilian peace-keepers Poland fully supported the idea of a universally binding legal instrument, possibly a convention on the safety and security of the personnel of peace-keeping operations.

27. In conclusion, his delegation reiterated its support for the idea of establishing a memorial in the United Nations Headquarters to all peace-keepers who had given their lives.

28. Mr. SIDOROV (Russian Federation) said that, although the danger of thermonuclear conflict between the major Powers had disappeared, the world was facing a new generation of conflicts and wars triggered by nationalist, political and religious intolerance which entailed enormous economic and humanitarian problems difficult to solve. In spite of the difficulties the Russian Federation noted with satisfaction that much had been done through joint efforts to adapt United Nations peacemaking activity to new realities. The United Nations operation in Cambodia was the most successful so far. Unfortunately, the key to the solution of many other conflicts had not yet been found and, in that context, the Russian Federation deplored the fact that some States, while placing their growing hopes on United Nations peace-keeping, often demonstrated their impatience and even a negative attitude and were not in a hurry to make a practical contribution. The Secretary-General's report, "An Agenda for Peace", was a tangible contribution, from which the Security Council derived specific definitions and comprehensive priorities. The Russian Federation fully supported the recommendation of the Security Council that all States should consider their participation in international peace-keeping activities and their international security policy.

29. The Russian Federation participated in various ways for several peace-keeping operations within the framework of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) and the United Nations, especially in the adjacent countries, in spite of the limits of their economic and political possibilities. As for the type of operations in

(Mr. Sidorov, Russian Federation)

its neighbouring countries, the Russian Federation would like to find, together with the United Nations and CSCE, more efficient forms of cooperation in peace-keeping forces with adequate legal status, and we would prefer it, if the principle of equitable distribution of expenses for the conduct of peace-keeping operations were to be more actively applied, up to the establishment of a voluntary fund for assistance to peace-keeping in that area.

30. In the broader context of United Nations peace-keeping operations, Russian troops were currently serving in the former Yugoslavia, in the Middle East, along the Iraq-Kuwait border, in Western Sahara and in Mozambique. The question of establishing a permanent Russian contingent was being given final consideration. In that connection, the Russian Federation hoped to be able to draw on the valuable experience gained by the United Nations in the training of military and civilian peace-keeping personnel and was prepared to provide the Secretary-General with information and cooperate with the Secretariat in organizing an effective system of preventive diplomacy and peace-keeping activities in general.

31. Recent experience in that area showed how important it was for all operational phases of a peace-keeping operation to be properly organized; that implied carefully orchestrated interaction between national contingents, effective organization of the chain of command and strict rules for the conduct of operations as well as criteria governing the use of force. It was likewise of the utmost importance that new operations should be launched within a framework of well-defined goals for a political settlement.

32. The United Nations had become increasingly involved in preventive diplomacy, information gathering and analysis, confidence-building measures and joint efforts at the global and regional levels, which could greatly enhance traditional peace-keeping efforts. The Russian Federation was prepared, in consultation with other States and the Secretariat, to help with the restructuring of Secretariat services, beginning with the Department of Peace-keeping Operations, in order to maximize efficiency. Measures to improve operations planning and logistical support and coordination between troop-contributing States required special attention. His delegation favoured the establishment of a stand-by forces planning team.

33. With regard to the important question of adequate financing, his delegation favoured a maximum diversification of sources of financing. The problem of the safety of United Nations troops and personnel had recently become a pressing concern. The strongest measures should be taken to prosecute those responsible for attacks and other acts of violence against the Blue Helmets, although vigorous measures to protect United Nations troops should not cause the Organization to become involved in internal disputes.

34. His delegation commended the work that had gone into the preparation of the draft resolutions on a comprehensive review of the question (A/C.4/48/L.18) and on strengthening United Nations command and control capabilities (A/C.4/48/L.19), and hoped that those texts could be adopted by consensus.

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35. Mr. HELG (Observer for the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC)) said that the number and complexity of peace-keeping operations had led ICRC to speak once again on the question of the applicability of international humanitarian law to United Nations peace-keeping forces. International humanitarian law limited the right of the parties to a conflict to choose methods and means of warfare and protected persons and property affected by conflicts. The four Geneva Conventions were binding upon all the parties to an armed conflict, and international humanitarian law applied equally to all armed forces present.

36. The fact that United Nations forces were armed and authorized to use their weapons under certain conditions, not only in cases of self-defence but also in any forceful attempt to prevent them from carrying out their duties, meant that international humanitarian law was applicable to them, particularly the provisions relating to the methods and means of combat, different categories of protected persons, respect for recognized signs (primarily the Red Cross and the Red Crescent), medical personnel and transport.

37. A look at recent peace-keeping operations showed that United Nations forces had been involved - principally in Somalia - in military operations which had produced casualties among both combatants and the civilian population. ICRC believed that reinforcing the applicability of international humanitarian law to United Nations forces, particularly those of rules prohibiting attacks against the civilian population and indiscriminate attacks, ensuring the protection of prisoners, the wounded and the sick, and facilitating relief operations, would help to promote the acceptance of that law by troop-contributing States and the parties to a conflict in a manner consistent with the spirit of various General Assembly resolutions.

38. ICRC was pleased that the United Nations had decided to take steps to familiarize its peace-keeping forces with the principles and rules of international humanitarian law and hoped that States would impose the requisite penal sanctions when that law was breached. He wished to reiterate that ICRC was ready to cooperate in all such efforts. He welcomed the initiative to hold a seminar to train legal advisers in peace-keeping operations.

39. Mr. Chong-Ha YOO (Republic of Korea) said that peace-keeping operations were in a transitional phase which would change the way they were viewed for years to come. Such operations, which were constantly growing in numbers, were being carried out in an increasingly dangerous environment. They must therefore have clear and feasible mandates if their credibility and legitimacy were not to be compromised. For operations to be successful, their mandates must also be regularly reviewed. He welcomed the growing number of informal consultations between the Secretariat and troop-contributing States and hoped that a mechanism for consultation among the major players - the Security Council, the Secretary-General and contributing States - would be created.

40. Experiences in Somalia and Bosnia and Herzegovina showed that peace-keeping operations were taking place under extremely dangerous conditions. If action was not taken to ensure the safety of personnel, the United Nations would soon have difficulty in mobilizing the necessary political support for such

(Mr. Chong-Ha Yoo, Republic of Korea)

operations. In that connection, he welcomed the initiatives taken recently in the Sixth Committee to formulate a legally binding instrument in that area.

41. Owing to the increase in the number of large-scale operations, the comprehensive planning capability of the Department of Peace-keeping Operations must be strengthened, as the Department remained understaffed. A modest increase in personnel was thus necessary, particularly in the Military Adviser's Office. Member States must be encouraged to make further contributions on a non-reimbursable basis.

42. The effectiveness of peace-keeping operations required adequate human resources and the prompt deployment of troops. His delegation welcomed the measures taken to accelerate that process, particularly the initiative of the Secretary-General to establish a stand-by forces planning team. Deployment could also be sped up in emergencies by pre-stocking equipment and by means of prior arrangements with Member States regarding transport. The growing number of peace-keeping operations had increased the demand for experts and civilian personnel; his delegation therefore welcomed the recent discussions on expansion of the roster of civilian peace-keeping personnel. Steps must be taken to ensure that such personnel met the highest standard of efficiency and competence, and the principle of equitable geographic distribution must be respected.

43. With regard to financial resources, the Republic of Korea supported the proposal to create a unified peace-keeping budgetary system, which would make it unnecessary to make several requests for contributions to Member States each year, requests which they often received in the middle of their budget cycle. The new system would also provide the Secretary-General with greater flexibility in dealing with unanticipated expenditures at the outset of new operations and a sound mechanism for allocating financial resources.

44. Mr. RAZALI (Malaysia) said that the issues raised 37 years ago regarding the use of armed forces by the Organization in the form of the United Nations Emergency Force remained active and had been made more complex by the post-cold-war situation, the proliferation of operations, and the budgetary constraints which they entailed. Some of the operations had been criticized, particularly with regard to the loss of human life and their financial implications.

45. The concept of peace-keeping had undergone considerable change and now covered peacemaking and peace-building. The Malaysian delegation had no conceptual difficulties with the issue, but it wished to reaffirm that Malaysia, as a troop-contributing country, attached particular significance to the mandate and the command-control structure of the operations. Malaysian troops had been sent to Somalia, not to arrest anyone but to help to feed Somali people.

46. It was important for troop-contributing countries to be consulted about important decisions and informed at an early stage about developments in the situation. While it welcomed the Secretariat's efforts to keep Member States informed, Malaysia underlined the need for close consultations between the

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(Mr. Razali, Malaysia)

Security Council and all Member States, particularly the troop-contributing ones, in order to dispel the impression that the Council, dominated by the Western countries, was increasingly taking questionable decisions, the execution of which was left to other Member States, as in the case of Somalia, from which certain important States had withdrawn for domestic political reasons and where soon perhaps only third-world troops would remain.

47. Mistakes had been made in some operations, in particular in Somalia, Iraq and Bosnia and Herzegovina, and any intervention, irrespective of whether it was conducted under the heading "preventive diplomacy" or "humanitarian action", must have the support not only of the five permanent members of the Security Council but also of the whole international community, and it must be based on a clear mandate. The developing countries believed that neither the United Nations nor the international community had the right to interfere in the internal affairs of Member States.

48. Intervention should be based on the following principles: there must be a request from the existing Government or, failing that, consultations with the principal actors and the States of the region; the United Nations must act consistently; troop-contributing countries must honour their commitments and must not withdraw their troops if lives were lost; and the United Nations must supervise the preparation and training of the multinational force.

49. Since the aim of the operation was to continue to seek a durable political and diplomatic solution, the United Nations must not be seen as endorsing the designs of its powerful and influential Members if they were seeking to impose their will on the weak and small.

50. The financial crisis might well compromise the very viability of the concept of collective security, for it might encourage the application of selective and double standards in addressing threats to international peace and security. The tragedy in Bosnia and Herzegovina provided a clear example. If the situation there persisted, it would be left to the rich nations alone to conduct peace-keeping operations, and that would run counter to the concepts of universality and the collective responsibility of the international community with regard to peace-keeping and international security. In view of the importance of the issue for the Organization's credibility, the principles and guidelines for the financing of peace-keeping operations must be followed in all cases. The Malaysian delegation called upon Member States to pay their contributions and support the proposal for consideration of the diversification of sources of finance.

51. It was not certain that at present the United Nations was capable of managing the many new and complex operations which it was called upon to undertake. The Malaysian delegation was ready to work with other delegations to find a solution to the problem. It welcomed the continuation of the existing training programmes for military personnel and urged that programmes designed for the civilian participants in the operations should be established. The offer of some Member States to train their nationals participating in the operations was welcome, but Malaysia favoured a more consolidated approach to

(Mr. Razali, Malaysia)

training, which should be administered by the Secretariat in close coordination with Member States, and the coordination of the training programmes at the national and regional levels.

52. It was also important to guarantee the security of peace-keeping personnel, and any hostile action against United Nations troops must be resolutely and collectively condemned. The Malaysian delegation was willing to collaborate in the drafting of a legal instrument for that purpose.

53. Peace-keeping was a costly undertaking, and any peace-keeping operation must be temporary and never regarded as a substitute for the long-term political settlement of a conflict. The United Nations must first exhaust all the possibilities of Chapter VI of the Charter concerning the pacific settlement of disputes.

54. Malaysia agreed with the Administrator of UNDP that it would be better to increase allocations for preventive development, for it was less costly to take preventive action than to have to confront crises.

55. Mr. SIMMONS (Australia) said that the enormous changes which had recently occurred in the international environment - an encouraging trend leading towards a new international system of cooperation but matched by an increase in regional crises - had augmented the demands made on the United Nations, particularly with respect to peace-keeping. The cost of peace-keeping operations, even with the completion of the mission in Cambodia, was still far higher than what had been considered normal during the cold war.

56. The new sense of cooperation, coupled with active measures to make the Organization more capable of carrying out its expanded role, was encouraging, but recent events, particularly in Somalia, Haiti and the former Yugoslavia, had raised serious and worrying questions about the role and capacity of the United Nations. The Organization now stood at a crossroads, and that made the work of the Committee all the more important. In that regard, Australia applauded the remarkable report of the Secretary-General entitled "An Agenda for Peace" and was encouraged by the enlargement of the Department of Peace-keeping Operations, the creation of a stand-by forces planning team, and the work on the development of a United Nations logistics doctrine.

57. In those circumstances, it was essential to define the conditions for effective peace-keeping. Speaking before the General Assembly on 27 September 1993, the Australian Foreign Minister had presented a list of seven basic conditions for ensuring such effectiveness: establishing clear and achievable goals, the provision of adequate resources, close coordination of peace-keeping with peacemaking, the clear impartiality of the peace-keepers, local support of the peace-keeping operations, manifest external support (from major Powers, regional Powers or neighbours and from regional international organizations) and a set of specific criteria for the termination of a specific operation.

58. It was also important to enable the United Nations to organize and administer peace-keeping operations effectively. Priority areas for action included the safety of United Nations personnel, command and control of peace-keeping operations, the improvement of Headquarters organization and planning and the financing of peace-keeping operations.

59. United Nations peace-keeping operations had always involved risk but the recent increase in the number of deaths among peace-keepers was alarming. Australia strongly supported the initiative by New Zealand in the Sixth Committee to develop a new international legal instrument creating legal obligations on States parties to protect United Nations personnel and to punish those responsible for attacks on members of the peace-keeping forces.

60. Australia attached critical importance to the command and control of peace-keeping operations. Those operations involved three levels of command - strategic, operational and tactical - and it was essential that their uniqueness be recognized and that resources be allocated to each level which would be sufficient to carry out its tasks. The United Nations Secretariat was a strategic level headquarters but commanders in the field must be given more control of their day-to-day operations. It was also essential to cement the principle of unity of command as independent decisions taken by the countries furnishing contingents could adversely affect the safety of other contingents.

61. There was also a case for a thorough review of the way the Secretariat was organized and financed to meet its peace-keeping responsibilities. Australia believed that such a review should be conducted externally in order to determine whether the current centralized system should be devolved and to determine the optimum organization to facilitate coordination interdepartmentally as well as with the specialized agencies and non-governmental organizations.

62. Turning to the financing of peace-keeping, it had long been accepted that it was the collective responsibility of all Member States and that should continue to be the guiding principle. The financing of peace-keeping needed to be put on a firmer footing and, while the only completely satisfactory solution was for all Member States to pay in full and on time, other options must also be considered in order to enhance efficiency and streamline costs. There was also a need to ensure that the peace-keeping reserve fund was used solely for the purpose for which it was established and to increase it to a more useful size of around $400 million, as proposed in the Volcker-Ogata report. The greatest need remained the establishment of a unified budget for United Nations peace-keeping operations, with separate line items for each operation. A number of other proposals should be looked at as well. Australia attached great importance to the question and considered that it required an effective and pragmatic response.

63. Mr. McKINNON (New Zealand), referring to the question of command and control of United Nations peace-keeping operations, said that the chain of command should be clearly established so as to avoid any possibility of ambiguity. With respect to consultative arrangements, his Government had already recorded its view that it was essential to develop mechanisms,

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(Mr. McKinnon, New Zealand)

appropriately devised for each case, to enable the Security Council, through informal working groups or similar processes, to consult with Member States not having a special interest in the issue in order to receive their advice on resolutions relating to peace-keeping operations. That was all the more important because current management of peace-keeping operations did not function entirely as envisaged by the Charter. There were provisions in the Charter pointing clearly to the expectation that the Security Council and the Secretariat should be more cognizant of the interests of those who contributed forces to United Nations operations when decisions were made on those operations.

64. He welcomed the transfer of the Field Operations Division to the Department of Peace-keeping Operations and the establishment of a Situation Centre, noting that New Zealand would be seconding an officer to the Centre shortly. He would also recall that it remained important to ensure that the Secretariat peace-keeping establishment was fully staffed, with the relevant qualified expertise, so that it could function effectively. In that connection, he pointed out that the resources of the United Nations and Member States could be supplemented by drawing on personnel from non-governmental sources or by expanding the practice of contracting for services, although it was essential that in such cases the civilian components did not become the poor relations in a peace-keeping operation.

65. New Zealand welcomed the establishment of a stand-by forces study team. In addition to being an invaluable aid to national planning, the team would facilitate more rapid deployment of United Nations forces. As peace-keeping operations involved the deployment of military, civilian and police personnel, training played a critical role in order to ensure the cohesion of the unit. In that connection, New Zealand also applauded the initiatives of those Member States which were planning to develop institutions for that purpose, while emphasizing that there was scope for cooperation between Member States in regional training programmes.

66. The reputation of the United Nations had been sullied in the past year by ill-informed or prejudiced reports concerning some of its operations. New Zealand considered that it was crucial for the Secretary-General to make information on peace-keeping operations a matter of the utmost priority.

67. In view of the fact that the number of fatalities among United Nations peace-keepers continued to rise, New Zealand considered it unacceptable that those forces should have inadequate legal and physical protection. For that reason, it had proposed that an international instrument be negotiated which would establish clearly individual criminal responsibility for attacks on United Nations peace-keepers and other associated personnel. He emphasized, lastly, that if Member States did not give the Organization the resources to carry out the tasks it wished performed they could hardly complain about the adequacies of its performance.

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68. Mr. DUTTA (India), rapidly reviewing the background of the question, recalled that his delegation had in the past stressed that United Nations peace-keeping operations should be mandated only after consent from all involved parties. Furthermore, the necessity for mandating United Nations operations should be determined objectively on the basis of consultation with the parties concerned, realistic mandates should be specified, and it should be ensured that operations were in full conformity with the purposes and principles of the Charter. In addition, before taking any military measures under Chapter VII of the Charter, all the other peaceful means provided for under Chapter VI must have been exhausted.

69. Given the rapid growth in the number and therefore the cost of peace-keeping operations, they should continue to be financed according to the principle of assessed contributions, to be paid in full and on time. It was therefore important for the Organization to address that problem, especially because the unacceptable delays in reimbursing the troop-contributing countries penalized primarily the developing countries. As to the human and material resources, his Government, which always stood ready to cooperate with the United Nations, looked forward to continuing its contacts with the stand-by forces planning team in order to have a clearer understanding of the Secretary-General's proposal on the matter.

70. The training of peace-keeping personnel was a national function, although of course the United Nations should provide training guidelines and manuals for military, civilian and police personnel. India welcomed the publication of a training manual by the United Nations.

71. All operations should be placed under the unified command and control of the United Nations; at the same time, it was important to involve the troop-contributing States in decision-making, both at Headquarters and in the field.

72. In view of the increase in the number of casualties among the United Nations peace-keepers, the Organization should review the measures guaranteeing personnel security. India, whose own troops had died in various peace-keeping operations, wished to stress that the relevant legal framework to be established should in no way contravene existing international law.

73. While the experience gained during the past year had highlighted the prominent role of the United Nations in peace-keeping, it had at the same time illustrated the difficulties created by a departure from certain traditional principles and concepts. There should also be no hesitation in ending those operations which had become either obsolete or ineffective.

74. Mr. HOLOHAN (Ireland) said that he fully supported the statement made by the representative of Belgium on behalf of the European Union.

75. Over the course of the past 12 months, the very concept of United Nations peace-keeping and its practical application had developed dramatically. As new missions had been deployed, there had been a fivefold increase in the expenditure for peace-keeping in just four years. More significant was the changing nature of the operations: the past year had seen the first peace

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(Mr. Holohan, Ireland)

enforcement operation deployed under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, in Somalia, and the successful completion of the largest and most complex operation thus far undertaken, the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC). Ireland favoured such changes and believed that the United Nations must be given the means to enable it to carry out the role that the international community clearly desired of it. Ireland itself had in 1993 taken part in 10 ongoing missions and had adopted new national legislation permitting the Irish defence forces to participate in operations under Chapter VII.

76. Nevertheless, it was to have been expected that such an evolution would not be without difficulties. What was most important was to learn from experience and make the appropriate adjustments. For instance, it was simply not acceptable that local people should regard peace-keepers as though they were invading enemy forces, and a repetition of that kind of tragic situation must absolutely be avoided. The ideal situation would of course be one where the United Nations was invited into a territory by all the parties in dispute and where its role in keeping the peace was understood and accepted by all. Unfortunately that was not always possible, but it was essential that the United Nations should at all costs avoid being seen as taking sides in a dispute. It must be made evident to all that its sole objective was to re-establish peace and ensure the welfare of the people.

77. His delegation wished to make certain suggestions in that connection. The first was to give more attention to issues of command and control and to conduct operations within an overall framework with clear political objectives. It was also necessary to ensure the maximum degree of coordination and consultation between the Secretary-General, the troop contributors and the Security Council, which was, of course, the body with primary responsibility for maintaining peace and security. It was heartening that exchanges of information and situation reports were already more frequent. Consequently, his delegation wholeheartedly supported the draft resolution on the question of command and control (A/C.4/48/L.19). It should be noted that, together with the difficulties, there had been some remarkable successes (in Cambodia, for instance, and in Somalia outside Mogadishu), from which lessons could usefully be drawn for future operations.

78. The second area to be considered was that of the administrative arrangements for the management of peace-keeping operations at Headquarters. Ireland favoured strengthening the Secretariat services responsible for peace-keeping and supported the proposals put forward by the Secretary-General in the proposed programme budget for the biennium 1994-1995, which called for a substantial increase in the resources of the Department of Peace-keeping Operations and the strengthening of its structure. The advice of the troop-contributing countries could be useful in that regard.

79. Equally important was the question of the financing of peace-keeping operations. It was distressing to note that, as peace-keeping expenditure reached unprecedented levels, the general willingness of Member States to bear the financial responsibility involved appeared to be diminishing, and it was the troop-contributing countries that were obliged to shoulder the burden resulting

(Mr. Holohan, Ireland)

from that shortfall in payment of assessed contributions. It was time for Member States to recognize that they had a responsibility - moral, legal and political - to settle their arrears and in future to pay their contributions in full and on time.

80. Ireland had always attached the utmost priority to the safety and security of peace-keeping personnel, and welcomed the recent report of the Secretary-General outlining measures for improving the security conditions of personnel in the field. It fully supported the New Zealand proposal in the Sixth Committee to draw up a legally binding international instrument to reinforce existing measures in that area. It should also not be overlooked that primary responsibility for security rested with the host Government and with the parties to conflict situations whose activities might endanger the security, if not the lives, of United Nations personnel and of personnel of non-governmental and other organizations involved in humanitarian relief.

81. Lastly, he paid tribute to all who had served or were serving the noble cause of peace. He hoped that it would soon be possible to erect a memorial at Headquarters recording the names of the more than one thousand brave men and women who had died while serving the United Nations since 1948. Such a tribute was long overdue.

The meeting rose at 1.05 p.m.

UNITED NATIONS
General Assembly
FORTY-EIGHTH SESSION
Official Records

SPECIAL POLITICAL AND
DECOLONIZATION COMMITTEE
(FOURTH COMMITTEE)
24th meeting
held on
Monday, 29 November 1993
at 3 p.m.
New York

SUMMARY RECORD OF THE 24th MEETING

Chairman: Mr. KALPAGE (Sri Lanka)

CONTENTS

AGENDA ITEM 87: COMPREHENSIVE REVIEW OF THE WHOLE QUESTION OF PEACE-KEEPING OPERATIONS IN ALL THEIR ASPECTS (continued)

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Distr. GENERAL
A/C.4/48/SR.24
31 January 1994

ORIGINAL: ENGLISH

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The meeting was called to order at 3.15 p.m.

AGENDA ITEM 87: COMPREHENSIVE REVIEW OF THE WHOLE QUESTION OF PEACE-KEEPING OPERATIONS IN ALL THEIR ASPECTS (continued) (A/48/158, A/48/173, A/48/291-S/26242 and Corr.1-2, A/48/349-S/26358, A/48/403/Add.1 and Corr.1-S/26450/Add.1 and Corr.1 and A/48/515-S/26605; A/C.4/48/L.18 and L.19)

1. Mr. PIRIZ-BALLON (Uruguay), noting that his country had committed approximately 1,000 troops to eight ongoing peace-keeping operations, said that it had long been its policy to participate in such operations to an extent far out of proportion to its geographical size or military strength, because it saw international security as the collective responsibility of all States, and peace-keeping operations as an essential tool in the maintenance of world peace. Such operations alone would not, of course, resolve a conflict, nor were they purely military undertakings. Rather, as an instrument for the creation of a climate of stability, they were part of a political solution to conflicts. They were not the appropriate instrument for all crises but only for those where there was reasonable hope of success and a clearly defined mandate, and they must be used only in strict compliance with the Charter.

2. The recent dramatic developments in Somalia and Haiti, the lack of progress in the former Yugoslavia, the poor management of some operations and the Organization's financial difficulties had fostered scepticism, particularly in the media, about the ability of the United Nations to rise to the task. Such "second generation" peace-keeping operations, often conducted in the context of complex internal situations, had been a particular challenge. Yet, on balance, the peace-keeping operations had been an undeniably successful form of preventive diplomacy.

3. Some aspects of peace-keeping operations none the less required urgent attention. Unity of command and control were indispensable for successful peace-keeping and there must be clearly established lines of command and proper coordination between Headquarters and field missions. Draft resolution A/C.4/48/L.18, which Uruguay had sponsored, took a balanced approach, dealing with such matters as adequate Secretariat administrative capacity or the need for greater participation by troop-contributing countries in the planning, management and coordination of peace-keeping operations. The principal parties involved in any peace-keeping operation, were the Security Council, which exercised decision-making and political control, the Secretariat, which exercised operative control, and the troop-contributing countries, which provided the human and material resources.

4. A second issue which should be addressed was the structure of the Secretariat. Certain welcome changes had already been made in the past year, such as the transfer of the Field Operations Division to the Department of Peace-keeping Operations - a move which had already led to the adoption of a unified approach to administrative, logistical, political and operational aspects - or the establishment of a 24-hour/7-day-a-week situation centre, which would improve coordination, command and control, and information gathering, and

which should be put on a permanent footing. Uruguay also supported the proposal for the establishment of a stand-by forces planning team, and the identification of a Secretariat unit responsible for planning which would deal with political, operational, logistical, administrative and financial aspects of peace-keeping operations. Adequate training of peace-keeping personnel was essential for the success of an operation and also for the security of the forces themselves. The focal point for peace-keeping training recently established in the Department of Peace-keeping Operations would have to develop common training criteria for the many and diverse contingents serving on peace-keeping missions.

5. On the issue of the safety of peace-keeping personnel, his delegation welcomed the establishment of a working group of the Sixth Committee to draft an international convention on the matter, and it supported the idea of a memorial for United Nations peace-keepers who had lost their lives.

6. Perhaps the most troubling issue, however, was the financial situation of peace-keeping operations, for Governments did not seem to feel the same urgency to finance them as to establish them. His delegation supported the Secretary-General's budget proposals aimed at strengthening the peace-keeping capacity of the Secretariat. Financing was a collective responsibility which must be based on universality and equitable distribution. The failure to reimburse troop-contributing countries was another problem which must be dealt with urgently, especially since a great number of developing countries were involved. The whole system of financing peace-keeping operations needed to be overhauled.

7. Mrs. RAKOTONDRAMBOA (Madagascar) observed that the breadth and complexity of the task of peace-keeping meant that human, financial and material resources must be available on a regular basis. Her delegation supported the steps already taken and the recommendations made to increase the peace-keeping capability of the United Nations, in particular through the establishment of a stand-by forces planning team and arrangements for training civilian, police and military peace-keeping personnel, such as the proposed training programme for national or regional trainers, in which Madagascar was prepared to participate.

8. Her delegation supported the operational principle set out in document S/25859 whereby a peace-keeping operation must have a clear political goal with a precise mandate subject to periodic review and to change in its character or duration only by the Security Council. Setting a timetable in conjunction with each mandate would be a way of holding the parties concerned to compliance with their obligations. The tragic events in Somalia had demonstrated the importance of a unified command and a clearly established chain of command and, in that connection, her delegation supported draft resolution A/C.4/48/L.19.

9. Her delegation welcomed the restructuring of the Secretariat and the recent strengthening of its capacity to plan and manage peace-keeping operations. The experts and agencies to be associated with any mission should be involved in its planning so that a common strategy could be developed. The establishment of the proposed situation centre should improve the management of ongoing operations.

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(Mrs. Rakotondramboa, Madagascar)

10. Given the great influence the media had had in recent times not only in forming public opinion but actually in guiding decisions regarding peace-keeping operations, it was very important for the Department of Public Information to set up a programme to inform the population in the field about the objectives of a mission and to educate the general public about the principles of the United Nations and the aims of the mission.

11. Unfortunately, the humanitarian assistance that had become a basic element of peace-keeping operations was being used by warlords as a weapon against their enemies and as a means of blackmailing and manipulating the international community. In a situation where United Nations troops were not respected, it was alarming that there were no real guarantees for their safety, only preventive measures, or damage control before the fact. The safety of peace-keeping personnel depended on the political will of the parties to the conflict, and it was thus essential for the United Nations to conclude a status-of-forces agreement with each host State, and to agree on prior arrangements with troop contributors. Her delegation welcomed the establishment of a Commission of Inquiry to investigate the armed attacks against peace-keeping forces in Somalia, as well as the decision of the Sixth Committee to begin work on an international convention on the safety of United Nations personnel.

12. There must be closer cooperation on peace-keeping operations between the United Nations and regional organizations such as the Organization of African Unity (OAU), which, with a view to restoring peace and stability in Africa, had set up a special body for conflict prevention, management and resolution, whose work would complement that of the United Nations.

13. Mrs. HOANG THI CU (Viet Nam) expressed the hope that draft resolution A/C.4/48/L.18 would be adopted by consensus.

14. While the threat of global war had receded, bloody conflicts were provoking instability in many parts of the world. In the face of such turbulence the paramount wish of all nations was to preserve international peace and security and promote economic growth and sustainable development. An agenda for development should be drawn up, similar to the Secretary-General's "An Agenda for Peace", which had triggered so much debate.

15. Never before had the United Nations been active in so many areas of conflict. The rising costs of peace-keeping operations, the diversity and complexity of the current operations and the heavy financial burden they imposed on Member States, particularly developing countries, called for a thorough re-examination of United Nations peace-keeping operations. All such activities must be carried out in conformity with the Charter and, especially, with the principles of respect for national sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-interference in internal affairs. Enforcement measures such as sanctions were in many cases counterproductive; the aim should be to help the parties to a conflict to move towards a peaceful settlement of their dispute rather than to complicate an already difficult situation.

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16. The General Assembly should play a more active role not only in the financing of peace-keeping operations, but in such areas as coordination between competent United Nations organs, the formulation of guidelines, and oversight. The Security Council and the Secretary-General should, moreover, analyse a given situation very carefully before establishing a peace-keeping operation and should formulate a realistic mandate for each operation in a fair and impartial manner, including clear objectives and a time-frame for the resolution of the problem. In order to improve the planning, management and coordination of peace-keeping operations, the Secretariat units dealing with peace-keeping must be strengthened.

17. Mr. RODRIGO (Sri Lanka) observed that draft resolution A/C.4/48/L.18 dealt comprehensively with the major operational aspects of current peace-keeping operations, while draft resolution A/C.4/48/L.19 dealt with the specifics of United Nations command and control capabilities. Together the two reflected the understandings reached on those questions.

18. There was considerably less clarity, however, surrounding the circumstances in which United Nations intervention could be set in motion. The Charter had not been particularly articulate on that point. The Secretary-General's report entitled "An Agenda for Peace" envisaged the extension of the traditional parameters of peace-keeping operations, and General Assembly resolution 47/120 B reflected the initial perceptions of Member States on those innovative approaches. However, the initiatives undertaken needed to be assessed in the light of experience gathered on the ground, in terms not only of their operational efficacy but also of their broader rationale.

19. The Security Council should discharge its acknowledged responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security and, by extension, for peace-keeping operations, in close rapport with the General Assembly and with respect for the principle of the sovereign equality of States. Draft resolution A/C.4/48/L.18 made the point (para. 24) that the Security Council and the Secretary-General should analyse a given situation very carefully before establishing a United Nations peace-keeping operation. That was the primary and most vital stage in United Nations peace-keeping. The temptation to act because there was agitation for action must be resisted. The Council must be fully briefed by all sources on the dynamics of each individual situation which might affect international peace and security, and both the Council and the Secretary-General should remain in close touch with the State in question. The arguments for United Nations intervention should be offset against the sometimes better option of non-intervention. All internal measures being pursued to deal with a situation should be encouraged, for essentially domestic upheavals would only be exacerbated by ill-conceived intervention that failed to take into account the local complexities involved. The injunction in Article 2 (7) of the Charter was important to safeguard the integrity and sovereignty of individual States as well as the credibility of the United Nations itself.

20. Full and free debate should precede decisions to establish peace-keeping operations, and any eventual intervention must have the consent of the States concerned. The agreed mandates should be clear, the goals and deadlines set

(Mr. Rodrigo, Sri Lanka)

should be realistic and the resources to meet those goals and deadlines should be adequate. Resources for peace-keeping operations should, however, not be apportioned at the expense of development and social and humanitarian programmes. The prospects of success of an operation had to be considered.

21. Where operations entailed enforcement action and economic sanctions, the adverse effects on third countries, particularly developing countries, should also be properly assessed and compensatory measures should be considered when defining peace-keeping mandates.

22. It was not easy to determine the existence of a threat to international peace and security; such threats could stem from political, social or economic factors. Despite their gravity, many situations might not constitute threats to international peace and security but might lead to disorder, economic dislocation and other humanitarian problems which were within the competence of United Nations bodies other than the Security Council. Indeed, the Council should encourage those bodies of the United Nations system which dealt with humanitarian matters to explore, at the request of the Member States concerned, even quasi-political measures which could ease a situation. Security Council action launched with primarily humanitarian aims could go awry. The sad instances in which the United Nations flag had become the butt of hostility could affect the credibility of peace-keeping operations in general and eventually the Organization's effectiveness in maintaining international peace and security.

23. Major troop-contributing countries were conducting internal policy reviews to determine the circumstances in which peace-keeping operations could be supported. Some developing countries which had not been reimbursed for operations were showing greater circumspection in volunteering further support. Those were additional reasons why peace-keeping operations should be established only after the broadest possible sounding of the views of States. Where Security Council decisions were not based on universal acceptance, support for operations would be less than enthusiastic and the shortage of financial and other resources would only be aggravated. His delegation welcomed the suggestion in draft resolution A/C.4/48/L.18 (para. 42) for dealing with the root causes of the difficulties some operations were experiencing. Underlying the questions of operational and logistical arrangements, financing, organization, training and security of personnel, and command and control was the more fundamental issue of the conditions in which United Nations intervention was justified.

24. Mr. IVANOV (Bulgaria) said that the scope of United Nations peace-keeping operations was expanding to encompass new responsibilities in a broad range of fields.

25. His delegation supported the principles of broad participation and pooled resources in peace-keeping and related activities and was fulfilling its responsibilities by contributing troops to the United Nations Transition Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC). Practical experience gained through his country's participation in UNTAC had shown the importance of the precise

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(Mr. Ivanov, Bulgaria)

definition of objectives, effective planning and management, command and control capabilities, logistical support and communications between Headquarters and the field. In that context, Bulgaria viewed the transfer of the Field Operations Division to the Department of Peace-keeping Operations, the establishment of a 24-hour/7-day-a-week situation centre, and the idea of identifying a focal point for information on all facets of ongoing or planned peace-keeping operations as positive and pragmatic developments. In order to ensure adequate coordination between national peace-keeping contingents and international staff participating in peace-keeping operations, a set of common standards should be devised for logistical support, financial administration and specialized training for all civilian and military personnel.

26. His delegation was seriously concerned about the security of United Nations peace-keeping and other personnel. He paid tribute to those who had given their lives and called upon Member States to translate their legal, political and moral obligations in that area into a legal instrument that would ensure adequate protection for United Nations field missions. His delegation also supported the measures to protect peace-keeping and other United Nations personnel outlined in General Assembly resolution 47/72 and in the report of the Secretary-General (A/48/349), as well as in the statements made by the President of the Security Council on that subject and in Security Council resolution 868 (1993). Furthermore, his delegation endorsed the comprehensive approach taken by the Sixth Committee in its deliberations on the elaboration of an international convention on the status and safety of United Nations forces and associated civilian personnel. Bulgaria's experience in its first peace-keeping operation had reaffirmed the importance of specialized training. It was in the process of adopting a legal, political and organizational framework for its peace-keeping capabilities and would appreciate any practical bilateral or multilateral assistance which Member States could provide in that regard. His Government was grateful to those States which had offered assistance in the form of training for the Bulgarian UNTAC contingent and it was prepared to continue that cooperation with a view to developing a national curriculum for peace-keeping training.

27. His delegation endorsed the conclusions and recommendations in the report of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations (A/48/173) and in draft resolution A/C.4/48/L.18. It also endorsed draft resolution A/C.4/48/L.19. In that connection, it shared the concerns expressed by other delegations with regard to the financial difficulties of the Organization, especially with regard to peace-keeping. While United Nations peace-keeping contributed significantly to international and national efforts to maintain stability and security, the large scale of peace-keeping activities had resulted in a cost explosion. His delegation supported the establishment of the Office of Inspections and Investigations, as well as recent steps to improve the management of resources allocated to peace-keeping.

28. With regard to the concept of peace enforcement as an option for conflict settlement, his delegation believed that it must be carefully considered only as a last resort and on an exceptional, case-by-case basis. The concept of preventive diplomacy also merited further elaboration and should be studied in

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(Mr. Ivanov, Bulgaria)

the context of Chapter VIII of the Charter, especially with regard to opportunities for cooperation with regional organizations and arrangements in order to ensure that the burden was adequately shared and that efforts were complementary.

29. Mr. ACHARYA (Nepal) said that the Committee's task was to formulate practical guidelines with a view to finding a balance between the ever-increasing demand for United Nations assistance and the resources available to meet those demands, particularly, in the area of peace-keeping operations. At the same time, however, the difference between the level of resources allocated to peace-keeping operations and the level available for operational activities for development necessitated a critical review of the directions in which the Organization was moving in the post-cold-war era.

30. Nepal had been contributing troops to United Nations peace-keeping operations for many years and thus had a stake in the decisions taken by the Security Council and the recommendations made to it by the Secretariat with regard to peace-keeping operations. For that reason, his delegation believed that the establishment of any peace-keeping operation should be preceded by a careful examination of the situation in order to lay the groundwork for a clearly defined and practicable mandate. The United Nations operations in Cambodia and El Salvador were positive examples of that approach.

31. His delegation attached great importance to close coordination between the General Assembly and the Security Council on peace-keeping matters and supported the proposal for the establishment of a permanent mechanism for continuing interaction between troop-contributing countries, countries which provided resources for peace-keeping operations, the Security Council and the Secretariat.

32. His delegation supported the view that the scale and scope of current United Nations operations required a clear and precise definition of the command and control relationship within Headquarters and in the field and between the field and Headquarters. That would require a clear commitment from the troop-contributing countries that their contingents would adhere to the United Nations command and control system. A clearly defined mandate for the mission and continuing consultations with the troop-contributing countries would do much to allay the concern of those countries regarding the safety of their personnel. In that connection, his delegation welcomed the situation reports which were currently being provided on a regular basis concerning some United Nations missions and supported the establishment of an expanded planning and operational unit within the Department of Peace-keeping Operations.

33. His delegation understood the constraints of the Secretariat in the face of increasing demands for peace-keeping operations. It supported the transfer of all core activities relating to peace-keeping to the Department of Peace-keeping Operations and the establishment of a functional around-the-clock situation centre within that Department, but he pointed out that the Department would require a significant increase in human and material resources. His delegation therefore, welcomed the arrangement whereby Member States might provide

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personnel on a short-term basis to augment the capacity of the Secretariat and urged that the Secretariat's capacity should be reinforced accordingly. In that context, it was very important to take advantage of the experience gained by personnel from developing countries in both the military and the civilian aspects of United Nations operations. His delegation welcomed the recommendations of the Secretary-General that Member States should identify personnel who could be made available on a stand-by basis for peace-keeping operations, on the understanding that any final decision to deploy stand-by forces would be left to the countries concerned. It would appreciate receiving further information on the work of the study team on that subject.

34. His delegation was gratified to note the growing emphasis on the training of peace-keeping personnel. In that context, it believed that arrangements for such training should be reviewed jointly by Member States, other organizations and the Secretariat. The issuance of training guidelines and manuals for civilian, police and military personnel would make it easier to establish standards in that area. His delegation supported the establishment of a United Nations peace-keeping fellowship.

35. The high cost of peace-keeping operations made it imperative that close attention should be paid to financial considerations in all phases of planning. In that connection, his delegation had welcomed the establishment of a Peace-keeping Reserve Fund and noted the discussion in the Secretary-General's report regarding the reimbursement of all outstanding dues of troop-contributing countries. It was important that those countries should be guaranteed that the Organization would honour its obligations to make timely and adequate reimbursement. His delegation also strongly supported the institutionalization of the special assessment scale which was currently in operation.

36. He noted with concern the increase in casualties among United Nations peace-keeping personnel. He appreciated the seriousness with which the Secretary-General was addressing the problem and welcomed the establishment of a working group within the Sixth Committee to draw up a legally binding international instrument to reinforce existing arrangements regarding the safety and security of United Nations personnel. He thanked the New Zealand delegation for its initiative in that area in both the Security Council and the General Assembly.

37. The complexities of the challenges and the limited capacity of the United Nations to respond to every call for assistance underlined the need for closer cooperation between the United Nations and regional arrangements and organizations. His delegation believed that further consideration should be given to ways and means of enhancing links with regional organizations in matters of peace-keeping and peacemaking, in conformity with Chapter VIII of the United Nations Charter and the relevant instruments of the regional organizations concerned.

38. The concept of peace-keeping had undergone a radical evolution. In some cases, the Security Council had invoked Chapter VII of the Charter in approving the mandate of a peace-keeping force; that was a departure from the traditional

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(Mr. Acharya, Nepal)

practice of seeking the prior consent of the parties concerned to the deployment of a mission. His delegation understood that there were situations in which strict adherence to the traditional concept of peace-keeping was not always possible and in that context, he said that the Security Council, as the principal organ for the maintenance of international peace and security, must act in an impartial and even-handed manner and must be perceived as doing so. He believed that a close working relationship between the General Assembly and the Security Council was indispensable if some of the more unorthodox recommendations contained in "An Agenda for Peace" were to be put into practice.

39. The United Nations was what its Member States wished it to be. Without the political will of Member States, and especially of the permanent members of the Security Council, simply to mandate an operation under Chapter VII of the Charter was little more than a political gamble. The tendency to substitute humanitarian operations for political indecision was an unfortunate result of the ambivalence of some Member States regarding the enforcement of the decisions of the Security Council. Member States could either commit themselves to peace-keeping as the only available means of mitigating a conflict or they could decide that the United Nations could have no meaningful role in maintaining peace.

40. Mr. PANTIRU (Republic of Moldova) said that the issue of peace-keeping operations was of particular significance for his country as a result of conflict in the Dniester region.

41. His delegation was fully aware of the fact that the United Nations was confronted with a growing number of new threats to international security and stability which placed increasing demands on its resources. It therefore supported and encouraged the trend towards involving regional organizations and arrangements in cooperation with the United Nations in the mitigation of some conflicts. That involvement should not, however,lead to the creation of two categories of peace-keeping operations: one under the auspices of the United Nations or in conformity with United Nations standards, and the other, the so-called "ad-hoc operations" based on different rules and procedures. His delegation believed that peace-keeping operations were successful to the extent that they fully respected the principles and criteria governing deployment and command and control. In that context, it attached particular importance to the definition of a clear and precise mandate for peace-keeping operations, the consent of the parties to the conflict and, most of all, transparency, impartiality and credibility.

42. With respect to peace-keeping operations in his country, he said that the peace-keeping force had contributed to the observance of cease-fire agreements and to the relaxation of tension in the area. Separatist leaders in the eastern districts of the country had, however, been continuously obstructing the political dialogue with the duly constituted authorities of the Republic of Moldova. In doing so, they were taking advantage of the presence of the peace-keeping force to establish illegal bodies and institutions. The separatist regime had also received economic, financial, military and political assistance from sources inside the Russian Federation. As a result, the

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separation force had become a curtain behind which elements from outside the Republic of Moldova had been permitted to influence developments in the region under the control of the separatists in violation of the principles of international law.

43. The Republic of Moldova had on several occasions requested the assistance of the United Nations and the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) in the settlement of the conflict. It appreciated the work of the two United Nations fact-finding missions and the establishment of a long-term CSCE mission in the country. However, the mandate of the CSCE mission, which was to gather and provide information on the situation, including the military situation, and to investigate specific incidents and assess their political implications, had not been fully discharged.

44. Peace-keeping and peacemaking activities should be truly international in nature and should be undertaken in strict compliance with the provisions of the United Nations Charter and the basic CSCE documents. A decision to launch a peace-keeping operation should be made on the basis of consensus, on a case-by-case basis, and at the request of the host country without any kind of external pressure. With respect to participants in such operations, due consideration should be given to the political consequences of involving States which had a clear interest in a particular outcome to the conflict.

45. The United Nations and regional organizations having responsibilities for the maintenance of international security should have the right and the obligation to monitor and control such operations. That, at any rate, was how his delegation interpreted paragraphs 60 to 65 of draft resolution A/48/C.4/L.18. The experience of peace-keeping operations in the Republic of Moldova had shown that the lack of effective monitoring by the international community of ad hoc peace-keeping activities undertaken outside the mandate of the United Nations or of competent regional organizations could have unfortunate consequences.

46. Mr. MUTHAURA (Kenya) said that his delegation agreed with the view expressed by the Secretary-General in his report (A/48/349-S/26358), that developments that had taken place in the past year, in particular the conditions in which United Nations personnel were expected to operate, called for the strengthening of the existing system of peace-keeping operations. Security considerations should therefore become an integral part of the planning for new operations, with priority given to the improvement and standardization of communications and to the training of staff in security matters. Such measures would obviously entail additional expenditures.

47. Kenya, which had contributed military and police personnel to various peace-keeping operations, was convinced of the need for ready funds to facilitate faster responses to peace-keeping emergencies. It therefore supported the establishment of the Peace-keeping Reserve Fund. It felt, however, that the present level of $150 million was inadequate and accordingly endorsed the proposal that it should be increased in order to cover start-up

(Mr. Muthaura, Kenya)

costs, and urged that a formula should be developed to provide a more predictable financial basis for peace-keeping operations.

48. Despite the unprecedented financial burden which peace-keeping operations placed on the United Nations, it would be a mistake to assess their impact in monetary terms alone. The most important consideration should be to minimize human catastrophes in conflicts where peace-keeping operations were required.

49. His delegation shared the view expressed in the Special Committee's report (A/48/173, para. 20) that in view of the increasing complexity and diversity of peace-keeping operations, reliable, stable and timely availability of financial, human and material resources had become an increasingly important factor in ensuring the smooth and effective management of peace-keeping operations. In that regard, his delegation welcomed the steps taken by the Secretary-General to set up stand-by forces and agreed that there was merit in the idea of establishing a list of experts available from within the Secretariat as well as from Member States for fact-finding, technical and good offices missions. It endorsed the idea of stockpiling essential and standard peace-keeping equipment through donations from countries which were reducing their regular forces.

50. His delegation was concerned about the delays in the reimbursement of troop-contributing countries, which had led to serious budgetary constraints, especially in the developing countries. The persistence of such a situation compromised the principle of broad participation in United Nations operations. According to an earlier the report of the Secretary-General (A/47/965), unpaid debts to Member States which had participated in United Nations peace-keeping operations had amounted to approximately $605 million as at 30 September 1993, a figure which was considerably higher than the amount due at the same date in previous years. It was therefore imperative that Member States should honour their financial obligations to the Organization through the timely payment of assessed contributions and the payment of arrears. A review of the formula for assessing contributions should, as in the past, take capacity to pay as the most important element.

51. While his delegation welcomed the increasing recourse to United Nations peace-keeping for the maintenance of international peace and security, it felt that there should always be broad-based consultations in regard to peace-keeping decisions during both the involvement and disengagement process. The credibility of the United Nations should be maintained, and to that end the Secretary-General should submit regular performance reports on all operations. He welcomed the growing practice of informal consultations between the Secretary-General and troop contributing countries and hoped that it would continue. Given the nature of the decisions, the consultations should be on a tripartite basis and involve also the Security Council, in accordance with the universally accepted principles of transparency and accountability.

52. With regard to regional conflicts, his delegation favoured further cooperation between the United Nations and regional organizations in all phases of peace-keeping operations, in accordance with Chapter VIII of the Charter. While the Security Council bore primary responsibility for the maintenance of

(Mr. Muthaura, Kenya)

international peace and security, the General Assembly should play a more active role in broader aspects of peace-keeping, as the Secretary-General had suggested in "An Agenda for Peace".

53. Peace-keeping was a collective responsibility of the international community. Since it was clear that United Nations peace-keeping operations would remain a priority item for quite some time, all Member States should show the necessary political will and moral commitment.

54. Mr. TELLES RIBEIRO (Brazil) said that the current debate underscored once again the importance of peace-keeping operations for the maintenance of international peace and security. Since 1988 there had been an impressive expansion of peace-keeping operations, in both number and complexity, and Member States from all regions of the world had responded positively to the call to support and participate in them. His delegation believed that it was time for a thorough review of recent experience in that area in order to strengthen and enhance the effectiveness of peace-keeping operations while ensuring the safety of the personnel participating in them.

55. Careful consideration should be given to recent developments in peace-keeping operations such as the growing recourse to enforcement action under Chapter VII of the Charter. In cases which appeared to be outside the more traditional mandates and practices of peace-keeping operations, the observance of certain basic principles was crucial for a successful outcome. Those principles, as indicated in his Government's written observations on the subject (A/AC.121/39/Rev.1), included: first, the deployment of a peace-keeping operation should, to the extent possible, be contingent upon securing the prior consent of the parties concerned and should have their agreement and cooperation; second, the Security Council, as the organ having primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, should specify well-defined mandates and objectives; third, peace-keeping operations should be defined and implemented in an impartial manner and should be perceived as impartial by the parties concerned; and fourth, the authority of United Nations peace-keeping operations should ultimately lie in their essentially non-combatant role.

56. United Nations peace-keeping operations were an instrument to assist the relevant peacemaking efforts on the ground. They might be of crucial support to broader diplomatic efforts, but they were not an end in themselves. The deployment of a United Nations force should be warranted by the political situation, otherwise "preventive" action might become "premature" action.

57. The amount of attention and resources devoted to peace-keeping efforts in recent times, while necessary and commendable, led to imbalances in the functioning and even in the structure of the Organization. In that regard, he noted the observations by the Administrator of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) that the volume of resources allocated to peace-keeping in the past two years had been much larger than that assigned to operational activities for development. While in many cases peace-keeping operations were conducted in support of humanitarian and development assistance programmes, their respective

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(Mr. Telles Ribeiro, Brazil)

mandates and objectives should not be confused. The integration of the humanitarian component into peace-keeping operations might increase the logistical and planning problems of all missions which were often over-extended. It should be borne in mind, however, that appropriate bodies and mechanisms existed to provide humanitarian assistance. His delegation noted the new measures adopted by the Secretary-General with a view to restructuring the Secretariat in the peace-keeping sector, in particular the transfer of the Field Operations Division to the Department of Peace-keeping Operations. It hoped that that would enhance the efficiency of the logistical activities of peace-keeping operations without compromising the administrative support provided by the Division to other United Nations field operations.

58. Two other areas - planning and the preparation of cost estimates - also needed additional strengthening. In some instances, the Secretariat's handling of the administrative aspects of peace-keeping operations led to inadequate costing and budgeting. Member States were increasingly concerned at the current difficulties faced by the Secretariat in those areas.

59. His delegation noted with deep concern the increase in the number of attacks against United Nations personnel engaged in peace-keeping operations and welcomed the inclusion in the agenda of the General Assembly of item 152. In that regard, his delegation had taken note of the suggestion put forward the previous year by the representative of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) that the United Nations should examine the possibility of formally declaring its commitment to abide by the relevant norms of international humanitarian law in all operations carried out under its authority.

60. With regard to the financing of peace-keeping operations, he noted that, according to draft resolution A/C.4/48/L/18, the costs of peace-keeping operations should be borne by Member States in accordance with Article 17 of the Charter. In that connection, he drew attention to three other points which should be taken into consideration: first, the need for a special procedure for the apportionment of peace-keeping costs, different from that relating to the regular budget; second, the special responsibility of the permanent members of the Security Council, as recognized in General Assembly resolution 1873 (S-IV); and, third, the fact that the economically more developed countries were in a position to make significantly larger contributions than the developing countries. The special scale for the apportionment of the expenditures of peace-keeping operations, established by resolution 3101 (XXVIII) had become a solid institution of the United Nations, and the political and economic considerations underlying it remained valid.

61. With regard to the organization and methods of work of the Special Committee, he noted that the existing arrangements allowed for the broad participation of all interested delegations in the Committee's deliberations. However, since the participation of Member States in peace-keeping operations was becoming increasingly universal, it should perhaps be transformed into an open-ended committee.

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(Mr. Telles Ribeiro, Brazil)

62. The detailed provisions of draft resolution A/C.4/48/L.18 reflected the climate generated by the new trends in peace-keeping operations. Inevitably, however, the large number of proposals submitted had resulted in a text which did not provide clear directions to the Secretariat. His delegation was ready to participate with other delegations in the Special Committee with a view to restructuring and streamlining its work.

63. Brazil attached great importance to United Nations peace-keeping activities, having participated in many operations since 1956. It was currently participating in eight operations on three different continents and was considering increasing its participation.

64. Mr. CARDENAS SUAREZ (Mexico) said that the increasing recourse to the United Nations for peace-keeping operations was a clear sign of the insecurity and uncertainty that marked the new international situation. Peace-keeping operations, which had been introduced to break the deadlock resulting from East-West rivalry, had become an excellent instrument to meet the challenges of building a new pattern of international relations. There were, however, limits to what could be achieved by the international community through peace-keeping operations - limits based on international law, on universally shared principles and purposes and on political and practical considerations.

65. Respect for the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, especially the inviolability of sovereign rights and the internal jurisdiction of States, should be the essential framework for any peace-keeping operation. Any decisions taken by the Security Council on behalf of the Organization should reflect the broadest possible consensus among Member States. That was the only way to preserve the Organization's credibility.

66. Any peace-keeping operation must, therefore, begin with the consent of all parties to the conflict. United Nations forces could not, and must not, be forced to engage in combat with a population which did not accept their presence. When United Nations forces became protagonists in a conflict, the resulting harm went beyond the failure of the mission: it jeopardized the lives of the members of the United Nations forces, negated the mission's true role as an impartial mediator, and undermined the Organization's credibility. Recognition of the fact that peace could not be imposed from outside was an essential step in ensuring the viability of peace-keeping operations.

67. The definition of a clear-cut mandate for the establishment of a peace-keeping operation was of crucial importance. Before authorizing any such operation, the Security Council and the Secretary-General should analyse all the details and formulate a precise mandate of limited duration in keeping with the actual situation and reflecting the broadest possible consensus. If the mission exceeded that mandate it would run the risk of losing control of its own activities, with resulting costly and tragic errors.

68. Mexico supported the proposals aimed at guaranteeing the safety of United Nations personnel engaged in peace-keeping operations, but it was convinced that the best way of achieving that aim was the full observance of two basic

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(Mr. Cardenas Suarez, Mexico)

principles: the non-combatant nature of such operations and the prior consent of the parties.

69. The growing economic burden which peace-keeping operations placed on Member States was a matter of the utmost concern. His delegation recognized the need to devise ways and means of providing peace-keeping operations with a solid financial base and supported the measures proposed in the draft resolution to relieve the burden on Member States. All States were responsible for financing peace-keeping operations, but the permanent members of the Security Council should assume a share of the financial burden commensurate with their special responsibility under the Charter.

70. Mexico had not only participated in peace-keeping operations by providing civilian and police personnel, but had worked towards the peaceful settlement of disputes, the development of international law, disarmament and cooperation among nations. A climate of development, stability and cooperation was essential for a stable and lasting peace.

71. Peace-keeping operations were a last resort in the search for peace; they were not in themselves a solution to the problems underlying disputes and conflicts. International peace and security continued to be threatened not only by aggressive nationalism and political and religious fanaticism but also, and above all, by the alarming conditions of critical poverty and inequality of opportunity which separated peoples from each other. Only a comprehensive approach to the purposes and functions of the Organization would enable the United Nations to meet the challenges facing it on the threshold of the twenty-first century.

72. Mr. SEARLE (Chile) said that since the end of the cold war the United Nations presence was in evidence in many parts of the world. While the readiness of the international community to resolve conflicts by peaceful means was to be welcomed, by the same token it had to be asked why so many conflicts continued to arise. The international community must devote its energies persistently and imaginatively to finding satisfactory solutions to the problems which gave rise to the conflicts.

73. The responsibility of the United Nations to promote international peace and security was inseparable from the economic, social and humanitarian factors which lay at the root of many of the current conflicts. Although the direct causes of such conflicts - for example, nationalist, ethnic or religious tensions - might vary, the United Nations should work hard to ensure the success of its development policies. The need for peace-keeping operations would thus, with time, tend gradually to decrease.

74. Pointing out that Chile had unreservedly supported United Nations peace-keeping operations and had contributed forces to five of them, he said that, in order to improve their efficiency, priority should be given to reviewing the mandate of such operations. Clear and achievable objectives would make for both a clearer assessment of results and a better use of human and financial resources.

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(Mr. Searle, Chile)

75. In connection with better defined mandates, he recalled the exceptional nature of Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations. In authorizing peace-keeping operations the Security Council had depended on that Chapter too frequently, thus running the risk of devaluing it. Commending the Secretary-General's report "An Agenda for Peace", he supported the wider use of preventive diplomacy and a greater role for regional operations. More frequent recourse to Chapters VI and VIII of the Charter could produce advantageous and effective results and at the same time reduce the need for the measures set out in Chapter VII, Articles 41 and 42.

76. With regard to the financing of peace-keeping operations, he reaffirmed his delegation's support for the retention of the existing scale of assessments. The permanent members of the Security Council had special responsibilities and privileges as far as international peace and security were concerned, while the financial capacity of developing countries was limited. He also welcomed the improvement in the Secretariat's management and planning capacity. He considered, however, that consultations between the Secretariat and troop-contributing countries should take place on a regular basis.

77. Expressing his support for the free exchange of information, which was helpful both for the Secretariat and for troop contributors, he welcomed the move by the Department of Peace-keeping Operations to send military technical advisers to visit various countries in connection with the setting up of stand-by forces. The results of such visits, however, should be considered very carefully and with great caution, taking into account the suggestions of all delegations. The same applied to the consideration of the possible establishment of regional training centres.

78. He welcomed the steps that had been taken to protect the safety of United Nations personnel - both military and civilian - and paid tribute to those who had lost their lives in peace-keeping operations. He appealed to all parties in conflict, wherever they were, to seek a lasting peace so that those lives would not have been sacrificed in vain. Peace-keeping operations were no substitute for efforts to find solutions to conflicts.

79. His delegation strongly supported draft resolution A/C.4/48/L.18. It dealt comprehensively with the concerns that had been expressed and the urgent need to make peace-keeping operations a dynamic and useful instrument.

80. Mr. CARDENAS (Argentina), referring to the contributions that his country had made to peace-keeping operations, said that it was participating in nine current operations, involving a total of 1,500 personnel. In addition, it had held a high-level seminar on peace-keeping forces in Buenos Aires, which had been attended by several eminent persons connected with United Nations peace-keeping operations. He himself had been one of a group of ambassadors who had met at various times for informal discussions on peace-keeping operations; they had put forward practical ideas on the matter and their conclusions had been circulated among all Member States.

(Mr. Cardenas, Argentina)

81. His country welcomed the Secretary-General's initiative on the establishment of stand-by forces. Such a move would do much to rationalize the contribution of States to peace-keeping operations. He expressed his concern, however, over the situation regarding reimbursements to troop-contributing countries. It was not fair that those States should bear the financial burden of peace-keeping activities.

82. He welcomed the reorganization of the Department of Peace-keeping Operations, which would benefit from rationalization, and the establishment of a situation room functioning around the clock, which would also constitute a major step forward for the United Nations.

83. The time had come to review the question of command and control: experience in the field had shown that better communication between the various contingents in a peace-keeping operation was essential. His delegation therefore especially welcomed the draft resolution on strengthening United Nations command and control capabilities (A/C.4/48/L.19), of which his country had become a sponsor.

84. His delegation also supported the Secretary-General's recommendations in his report entitled "An Agenda for Peace", especially those relating to preventive diplomacy and the creation of demilitarized zones. It was time to analyse in depth the whole question of peace-keeping operations.

85. The functioning and objectives of peace-keeping operations were so complex and delicate that his country attached particular importance to the training of the requisite personnel. To that end, a training centre specializing in courses on peace missions was due to open in Buenos Aires in 1994. He invited other countries in his region to take part in such courses. Lastly, he said that priority should be given to the question of the safety of peace-keeping personnel and he paid tribute to those who had lost their lives.

86. Mr. JARAMILLO (Colombia) said that, despite the fact that peace-keeping operations had proliferated since the mid-1980s - and had grown exponentially over the previous year - the world had not become more peaceful. That called into question the principles, practice and limits of the traditional peace-keeping concept. The philosophy behind them should be re-examined and the results of specific operations should be weighed, giving due attention to all their aspects. Although the United Nations had achieved much, the confusion and haste evident in some peace-keeping operations raised doubts as to its capacity to manage such operations efficiently. The United Nations had not yet come to grips with the new realities.

87. Peace-keeping mandates had been broadened to include such elements as election-monitoring, humanitarian aid and human rights. He expressed his concern at the automatic linkage made between such disparate factors. Not all peace operations had a humanitarian component. Separate instruments existed for such projects and there was no need to bring in bodies such as the Security Council to take rapid action. He reminded the Committee of General Assembly resolution 47/120 A, part V, paragraph 2, of which dealt with the question of

(Mr. Jaramillo, Colombia)

coordination between humanitarian assistance programmes and peace-keeping operations. It was also unacceptable for the United Nations to intervene in internal power struggles unless they really affected international peace and security.

88. Priority should be given to the principle of selectivity, both because the United Nations lacked the operational and financial capacity to resolve all conflicts and because a mandate should be restricted to situations that threatened international peace and security. His delegation attached great importance to Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter, which stated that the United Nations should not intervene in matters which were essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any State. Above all, any peace-keeping operation should have the explicit consent of all the parties to the conflict.

89. His delegation reiterated its belief that all financial matters, including the funding of peace-keeping operations, should be left to the Fifth Committee, which should also examine draft resolution A/C.4/48/L.18. At the same time, close attention should be given to ensuring the impartiality of the United Nations where the funding of peace-keeping operations was concerned. His delegation had serious reservations regarding private donations. Although the funding of peace-keeping operations was a collective responsibility, the permanent members of the Security Council had a special responsibility. Privileges also carried obligations.

90. In that context, he expressed his country's concern at the high cost of peace-keeping operations, which laid an especially heavy burden on developing countries and impeded their economic and social development. That made it all the more regrettable that in some cases peace-keeping operations had suffered from careless management, inefficiency, extravagance and corruption. He urged that appropriate action should be taken.

91. Supporting the view that regional organizations had an important role to play in complementing United Nations activities, he pointed out that such organizations had their own mandates and priorities and that the United Nations should not give the impression that it was imposing tasks on them. Any cooperation should be reciprocal and bilateral. With regard to preventive diplomacy and demilitarized zones, he stressed the need to remain within the parameters established under resolution 47/120 B. His delegation had serious reservations about cases where only one party to a conflict requested a United Nations presence.

92. His delegation was concerned at the constant recourse to Chapter VII of the Charter, which tended to diminish its usefulness as an instrument for peace and became a way of imposing peace without the consent of the parties concerned. Missions deployed under that chapter were given greater powers than traditional peace-keeping operations. United Nations personnel were similarly drawn into more conflict situations, with the result that the neutrality and impartiality of the United Nations was called into question. In that context, he supported the proposals regarding the formulation of a draft convention on the safety of United Nations personnel.

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(Mr. Jaramillo, Colombia)

93. He expressed his country's concern at the fact that peace-keeping operations were sometimes detrimental to other vital interests. Development, democracy and peace were closely interlinked and the recipe for a sure and lasting peace was economic, political and social development. He added that, if the United Nations had recourse too often to the coercive measures outlined in Chapter VII of the Charter, it would run the risk of being associated with aggression. It should rather be identified with the peaceful resolution of conflicts.

94. The CHAIRMAN informed the Committee that Fiji had become a sponsor of draft resolution A/C.4/48/L.18 and that Argentina, Fiji, Ireland, New Zealand, Ukraine and Uruguay had become sponsors of draft resolution A/C.4/48/L.19.

ANNOUNCEMENT CONCERNING SPONSORSHIP OF DRAFT RESOLUTIONS

95. The CHAIRMAN announced that India had become a sponsor of draft resolutions A/C.4/48/L.23, L.25, L.29 and L.31 submitted under agenda item 85.

The meeting rose at 6.05 p.m.

UNITED NATIONS
General Assembly
FORTY-EIGHTH SESSION
Official Records

SPECIAL POLITICAL AND
DECOLONIZATION COMMITTEE
(FOURTH COMMITTEE)
25th meeting
held on
Tuesday, 30 November 1993
at 10 a.m.
New York

SUMMARY RECORD OF THE 25th MEETING

Chairman:	Mr. KALPAGÉ	(Sri Lanka)
later:	Mr. CHIRILA	(Romania)
later:	Mr. KALPAGÉ	(Sri Lanka)

CONTENTS

AGENDA ITEM 87: COMPREHENSIVE REVIEW OF THE WHOLE QUESTION OF PEACE-KEEPING OPERATIONS IN ALL THEIR ASPECTS (continued)

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Distr. GENERAL
A/C.4/48/SR.25
5 February 1994
ENGLISH
ORIGINAL: FRENCH

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The meeting was called to order at 10 a.m.

AGENDA ITEM 87: COMPREHENSIVE REVIEW OF THE WHOLE QUESTION OF PEACE-KEEPING OPERATIONS IN ALL THEIR ASPECTS (continued) (A/48/158, A/48/173, A/48/291-S/26242, A/48/349-S/26358, A/48/403/Add.1-S/26450/Add.1, A/48/403/Add.1/Corr.1-S/26450/Add.1/Corr.1, A/48/515-S/26605 and A/C.4/48/L.18 and L.19)

1. Mr. OTHMAN (Joint Inspection Unit), introducing the report of the Joint Inspection Unit (JIU) on the staffing of United Nations peace-keeping and related missions (civilian component) (A/48/421), said that the Inspectors had studied the way in which different departments and units of the United Nations Secretariat managed peace-keeping operations and related missions; in particular, they had studied organizational structures and functions at Headquarters and in the field with a view to making management more coherent, avoiding duplication, enhancing coordination and sharpening the processes of early warning, planning, deployment, monitoring and evaluation. The Inspectors had also looked into the measures recommended or adopted by the Secretariat to improve its management and had submitted a number of conclusions and recommendations that could be summarized in the following manner: the Department of Peace-keeping Operations should become the central organ dealing with such operations. It should be strengthened by the addition of military and civilian staff and experienced and qualified administrative personnel. It should be the lead department for operations, with other departments continuing to provide substantive support. The Inspectors also proposed that the Field Operations Division should be attached to the Department - a step that had already been taken - and that a core team responsible for operations should be set up within the Department. The personnel of the core team could carry out reconnaissance missions and also act as "fire brigades" which could be deployed speedily for purposes of crisis management. The Inspectors had also recommended the strengthening of the round-the-clock Situation Room, the establishment of a post of "Police Commissioner" and the designation of one or more focal points to answer queries from Member States.

2. As far as field operations were concerned, there was a need for clearer lines of authority and coordination among the heads of the three main components of a force. Lines of communication and the flow of information between the field and Headquarters should be better focused. The establishment of a joint operations centre functioning on a 24-hour basis would be a sound managerial tool for that purpose.

3. The Inspectors had also examined sources and procedures for the recruitment of civilian staff and the briefing, training, and conditions of service of such personnel. They had recommended establishing a roster of pre-certified candidates, more extensive use of United Nations Volunteers, retirees and local staff, and contractual arrangements. In their view, it was necessary to institutionalize briefing and training, to develop special training programmes for different types of personnel, and to use the facilities and human resources of Member States and regional organizations in such training. With regard to conditions of service, mission assignments should continue to be voluntary, and the principle of rotation between the relevant departments at Headquarters and

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(Mr. Othman)

the field should be adopted. Security of personnel should be included in mission planning, briefing and training.

4. The implementation of those recommendations would allow the United Nations to adapt itself to the new circumstances of peace-keeping operations and to manage them with the human and financial resources at its disposal as economically as possible. It must not be forgotten, however, that the Organization's capacity to handle existing and new missions successfully depended not only on well-organized structures with proper planning and highly qualified personnel and on good management, but also on the continued support of Member States, both political and financial.

5. In conclusion, he said that peace-keeping was one of the four priority areas in the Joint Inspection Unit's 1994 work programme and that the Unit would welcome any suggestions from Member States regarding specific studies on that topic.

6. Mr. KHANDOGY (Ukraine) noted that the Committee was carrying out a comprehensive review at the current session of an important set of issues relating to peace-keeping at a time when international relations were changing profoundly. Increasingly, the United Nations was being called upon to perform its role of maintaining international peace and security in dangerous conditions, in areas where no Government existed and where the consent and cooperation of the parties to the conflict could not be relied on. Such circumstances called not only for a re-examination of the traditional approach to peace-keeping but also for a collective effort to establish a conceptual basis for multilateral intervention in crisis situations.

7. After stressing the need to clarify the concept of peace-keeping and to formulate clear guidelines for peace-keeping operations, he noted that the Security Council had recommended that all Member States should make peace-keeping a part of their foreign and national security policies. The Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations should address a number of specific issues, including the legal status of national contingents, clearly established lines of command with due regard for the competence of national authorities, problems of deployment without the explicit consent of Governments, and the grounds for recalling national contingents. Those questions, which were of paramount importance to the troop-contributing countries, should be considered by the Special Committee, which might prepare a declaration of principles regarding peace-keeping operations for adoption by the General Assembly.

8. The concepts of universality and impartiality were the key elements of a successful peace-keeping operation, since they alone could ensure the necessary degree of mutual trust among the parties concerned. In that connection, he emphasized the important role that regional organizations and arrangements should play in the settlement of disputes, and he expressed support for the involvement of Member States through those regional organizations based on the provisions of the Charter. However, Ukraine could not accept any country's claims to take on the role of guarantor of peace and stability in a particular region. Nor could it accept the attempts by certain States to obtain from the

(Mr. Khandogy, Ukraine)

United Nations or the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) an open mandate to conduct peace-keeping operations in areas affecting their "vital interests". Any decision to deploy an operation in the CSCE region should be based on an explicit request from the Government of the country concerned.

9. His delegation supported the principle of redeploying United Nations forces for preventive purposes or establishing demilitarized zones to avoid conflict and encourage efforts at peaceful settlement. The Organization would succeed in doing so only if it possessed well-equipped stand-by forces. Ukraine was ready to cooperate with the Secretary-General in that regard.

10. Of particular concern to his Government was the question of the safety and security of United Nations forces and personnel. Despite the heavy losses that his country had already sustained, it intended to increase its military contingent in the Sarajevo sector. His delegation welcomed the report of the Secretary-General on the question of security and recommended that it should be kept under review.

11. With regard to the financing of peace-keeping operations, his delegation supported the principle of the collective responsibility of all Member States. At the same time, it believed that the specific modalities for the mobilization of additional resources should also be defined. It also wished to emphasize the urgent need to address the question of the composition of the groups for the apportionment of the costs of peace-keeping operations and expressed the hope that all delegations would support the proposal by Belarus and Ukraine that they should be reclassified in Group C.

12. The omnibus resolution, which at the current session comprised 83 operative paragraphs, had grown out of all reasonable proportions and had become practically unmanageable. He suggested that it should be replaced by several draft resolutions on the various questions on which consensus had been reached in the Special Committee. Lastly, he expressed the hope that all interested delegations would be able to participate in the work of the Special Committee the following year in order to enhance its prestige and authority.

13. Ms. LEACH (United States of America) welcomed the remarkable progress achieved thanks to the work of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations and the fact that so many proposals contained in the previous year's resolution of the Special Committee had been implemented and had led to the strengthening of peace-keeping operations. Referring to the widening scope and growing complexity of the operations, she emphasized that, while the Security Council had retained the primary role in that area, there was now a clear need for a complementary, constructive and credible forum which would ensure wider participation and a greater contribution on the part of delegations.

14. Despite their diversity, the members of the Special Committee had generally avoided political or ideological divisions and had reached agreement on various questions. Thus, the draft resolution on the question under consideration contained highly relevant recommendations on such matters as the safety and security of personnel, the strengthening of training, the enhancement of the

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information component of peace-keeping operations and the strengthening of the Headquarters structures. The draft resolution also underscored the fact that peace-keeping personnel must respect local and international laws, stressed the importance of clear rules of engagement for operations, and emphasized the need for the provision of adequate funds for peace-keeping start-up operations.

15. Her delegation also wished to support the draft resolution dealing with command and control capabilities and consultations with troop-contributing countries. It joined other delegations in stressing that peace-keeping operations must be provided with financial support commensurate with the obvious importance which Member States appeared to attach to them. In that regard, it wish to make clear its support for an increase in the resources allocated to peace-keeping, as proposed in the budget proposals currently being reviewed by the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions (ACABQ).

16. Mr. MARKER (Pakistan) said that his country, which had been host to one of the oldest peace-keeping operations, the United Nations Military Observer Group in India and Pakistan (UNMOGIP), was firmly committed to the concept of peace-keeping as an important mechanism for the prevention of conflicts and had been an active participant in many operations.

17. His delegation was of the view, however, that a peace-keeping operation was not an end in itself but should be viewed as an essential part of efforts to achieve conflict resolution. Emphasis should, therefore, be placed on resolving problems rather than on the imposition of artificial time-limits. The international community should persuade the parties to a conflict to cooperate in the implementation of the mandate of a peace-keeping operation, as approved by the Security Council, and should not allow one party to the conflict to alter the mandate unilaterally or to renege on its commitments. His delegation felt that preventive diplomacy and the establishment of demilitarized zones were important means of preventing existing or potential disputes from escalating into conflicts.

18. The United Nations could not discharge its responsibilities with regard to peace-keeping effectively unless it had resources commensurate with its mission, including the necessary personnel and equipment. His delegation welcomed the recent initiative of the Secretary-General to establish a stand-by forces planning team and reiterated Pakistan's offer to designate specific units of its armed forces for peace-keeping operations.

19. As for the financing of such activities, all Member States must pay their assessed contributions in full and on time. His delegation believed that the existing scale of assessments should be institutionalized. It shared the concern which had been expressed with regard to the inadequate financing of the Reserve Fund.

20. Troop-contributing developing countries encountered difficulties arising from the non-reimbursement of costs. If the present situation was allowed to continue, those countries would find themselves unable to participate in peace-

(Mr. Marker, Pakistan)

keeping operations and that would jeopardize the important principle of universal participation.

21. On the question of the protection of personnel and the loss of human life suffered by various countries, he expressed his concern with regard to the system of compensation for national contingents. Irrespective of nationality, all troops performed the same tasks and confronted similar dangers. The United Nations should therefore apply a uniform equitable system of compensation in the event of death or injury.

22. As a troop-contributing country, Pakistan shared the concern of the international community over the dangers confronted by United Nations peace-keeping personnel. His delegation welcomed the consideration of that question in the Sixth Committee, as well as the Secretary-General's intention to institute a number of measures with a view to improving the security of missions.

23. Pakistan endorsed the measures to streamline and strengthen the Department of Peace-keeping Operations. In view of the crucial role that public information could play in a peace-keeping operation, his delegation supported the various measures that had been taken to strengthen the Department's capacity in that regard. The media component should be deployed with effect from the initial phase of operations.

24. He expressed the hope that the Secretary-General would, in due course, submit the periodic reports on peace-keeping operations which he had been requested to provide. He welcomed the initiative of the Nordic countries with regard to the strengthening of United Nations command and control capabilities. Lastly, he paid tribute to those who had sacrificed their lives in the service of peace.

25. Mr. AL-ZARRH (Qatar) said that United Nations peace-keeping operations placed a heavy financial and human burden on the Organization. Some countries, including the super-Powers, were therefore somewhat hesitant to participate in those operations, or laid down political, military or financial conditions in return for their support. Certain peace-keeping operations, particularly in the Middle East, Cyprus, Cambodia, Angola and Mauritania, had undeniably been a success, but it was clear that such operations were being resorted to far too often. As a result, the United Nations and heads of government were turning their attention to ways of averting disputes and preventing them from escalating. Since the end of the cold war, at a time when many nationalist and ethnic movements were encouraging serious violence and conventional weapons continued to proliferate in several parts of the world, preventive diplomacy had played a vital role. That type of diplomacy called for the adoption of confidence-building measures, the establishment of an early-warning system based on information-gathering and fact-finding, and sometimes the creation of demilitarized zones.

26. The two prerequisites for the establishment of peace in the Middle East, namely, mutual confidence and openness among the States in the region, were

(Mr. Al-Zarrh, Qatar)

likely to encourage the relinquishment of territorial claims, in addition to respect for national sovereignty and the right of all States to base their independence on cooperation and understanding.

27. The Iran-Iraq war, which had lasted almost eight years, had had devastating effects, and Iraq's invasion of Kuwait had further heightened instability in the region. In compliance with Chapter VIII of the United Nations Charter, Qatar therefore advocated strengthening the role of regional organizations in peacemaking and possibly peace-keeping; the experience of organizations which were fully knowledgeable about local situations should be put to good use.

28. Qatar welcomed the decision of the Secretary-General to establish an integrated centre of operations covering United Nations peace-keeping operations worldwide and to appoint an adviser on mine clearance. It reaffirmed that peace-keeping mechanisms should be made more dynamic in accordance with the United Nations Charter and that recourse should be had to preventive diplomacy with a view to averting armed conflicts. He approved the Secretary-General's proposals contained in paragraphs 34 to 44 of "An Agenda for Peace", particularly concerning peace-enforcement units, and believed that the proposals for financing peace-keeping operations should be examined.

29. He concluded by paying tribute to the personnel who had been killed while taking part in peace-keeping operations.

30. Mr. CHIRILA (Romania) remarked that the dramatic increase in the number of peace-keeping operations presented the United Nations with a new type of problem. The main issues concerned the decision-making process involved in defining the mandate of an operation, allocation of the resources needed, the establishment and progress of the operation, particularly in terms of command, coordination and control, and the question of a United Nations presence once the operation was completed. Consideration of all those elements of United Nations intervention in the handling of conflict situations had become a major concern of Member States in seeking the most appropriate means of enhancing the efficiency of peace-keeping operations.

31. A new generation of multifaceted peace-keeping operations, which often departed from the conventional model, presented serious risks. Romania therefore welcomed the in-depth consultations taking place within the Sixth Committee aimed at concluding an international agreement on the status and security of United Nations personnel throughout the world.

32. Romania, one of the 70 countries contributing to peace-keeping operations, was prepared to increase its participation. The experience acquired and the widening of bilateral contacts with the States that were major contributors to that type of operation offered considerable potential for Romania to diversify and raise the level of its future participation. In their current form peace-keeping operations called for military and civilian personnel with highly specialized training. Accordingly, a special programme had been introduced, which was intended to strengthen Romania's capacity to respond to requests from the United Nations and from other organizations relating to peace-keeping. A

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(Mr. Chirila, Romania)

first Romanian military battalion was undergoing the training required for that type of operation and would become operational in the early spring of 1994. While recognizing that primary responsibility for training lay with Member States, Romania supported the initiatives aimed at establishing a mechanism which would provide for standardized training, using the best available resources and methods.

33. Draft resolution A/C.3/48/L.18 provided a sound basis for the future and for the institutional development of peace-keeping operations. It contained firm guidelines for establishing and defining the concept of peace-keeping operations in political, military, practical and theoretical terms.

34. As for the long-term approach to peace-keeping operations, Romania wished to emphasize various points which, in its view, called for particular attention. First, there was a need to ensure that the mandates for peace-keeping operations were clear and attainable and that contingents from different regions received standard training. Secondly, the Department of Peace-keeping Operations should be allocated the personnel and resources it needed to accomplish its task. Thirdly, the growing number of complex and often large-scale operations should be better planned and managed, and fourthly, information intended for the public and the media regarding the objectives, mandate, operation and outcome of peace-keeping missions should be better prepared.

35. In a broader political context, Romania was concerned about stability and security in the central and East European region and believed that the support of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) was necessary in order to strengthen the capacity of the United Nations to carry out its peace-keeping functions. The contributions of the other regional agreements and organizations, particularly the activity of the North Atlantic Council, were extremely important in that respect. At the same time, in order to secure the confidence of the international community, peace-keeping operations must be based on principles and criteria which had hitherto ensured their success. In that context, it was necessary to exercise caution with regard to any authority which some countries might be tempted to assume unilaterally in regions where they had specific interests. That was particularly true when there were any doubts as to the impartiality of the troops engaged or when there was a possibility of pressure being used to secure the needed consent from the host country.

36. The political, legal and practical basis for peace-keeping operations must come from full implementation of the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations concerning the establishment of the collective security system, full exercise of the functions and responsibilities of the Security Council and of the Secretary-General, and from recourse to regional arrangements and agencies in the context specified under articles 52 to 54 of the Charter. Romania was willing to lend its support and to make a specific contribution in that area, which was so vital to international security and stability.

37. Mr. EL AMRANI (Morocco) said that the exponential growth in the number of peace-keeping operations in the world and the diversification of their mandates

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(Mr. El Amrani, Morocco)

had caused an unprecedented evolution of the traditional concept of peace-keeping, now seen as multidimensional activity spanning such fields as humanitarian assistance, electoral assistance, human-rights monitoring, border monitoring, sanctions enforcement monitoring and sometimes even assistance in nation-building and the establishment of State institutions and transitional authorities. Mandates ranged from the restoration of peace by the peaceful means provided for in Chapter IV of the Charter, through the consolidation of peace in order to reestablish trust and cooperation between former belligerents, to the delicate task of imposing peace under Chapter VII, which implied a certain degree of coercion, when all peaceful means had failed. That evolution called for a conceptual and structural change in the United Nations that would enhance its effectiveness and its ability to respond appropriately to the challenges before it.

38. While his delegation supported the various peace-keeping ideas and proposals advanced by the Secretariat and Member States, it wished to stress the need for the Security Council and the United Nations Secretariat to incorporate in their approach an in-depth analysis of the socio-cultural component of the intended intervention zone. Regardless of the nature of a peace-keeping operation's mandate, ignorance or misunderstanding of the human dimension could delay the establishment of a just and lasting peace, and would thus prove costly to the Organization in human and financial terms.

39. The expansion of the number of peace-keeping operations and the nature of their mandates called for considerable human, logistic and financial resources. His delegation was concerned at the Organization's precarious financial situation, reflected inter alia in the resulting delays in the reimbursement of troop-contributing countries, from which the developing countries suffered the most. It was therefore imperative for all Member States to pay their contributions on time and in full, in accordance with their capacity to pay. His delegation hoped that the Peace-keeping Reserve Fund established by General Assembly resolution 47/217 would be adequately supplied and that a study would be done of how to put peace-keeping start-up costs on a sound financial footing.

40. With respect to the effective management of peace-keeping operations, his delegation welcomed the major reforms undertaken by the Secretariat, especially the strengthening of the Department of Peace-keeping Operations and the establishment of an around-the-clock situation room, which would help to centralize information and would permit a rapid response when necessary. Those operational and structural reforms would allow effective, coordinated management of all peace-keeping operations.

41. His delegation supported the efforts made under Chapter VIII of the Charter to encourage and strengthen cooperation between the United Nations and regional organizations. However, it hoped that the principles of impartiality and neutrality that should govern any United Nations peace-making operation would also guide the regional organizations in their supporting role.

(Mr. El Amrani, Morocco)

42. Assaults on the safety and security of personnel operating in the context of a peace-keeping operation were a source of constant concern, and energetic measures must be taken against those who threatened United Nations personnel and prevented them from carrying out their duties. It was encouraging to note that security had become a component in the planning of peace-keeping operations.

43. His delegation endorsed the Special Committee's recommendation to record the names of those who had given their lives for peace in a public area at United Nations Headquarters, and reaffirmed Morocco's support for future peace-keeping operations.

44. Mr. EKOUMILONG (Cameroon) said that the proliferation of conflict in every region of the world had led the United Nations to take on ever-greater peace-keeping responsibilities. It was necessary to reflect on the underlying reasons for that proliferation and on the conditions that needed to be created to encourage peace. In that regard, the ideas put forward by the Secretary-General in "An Agenda for Peace" provided useful guidelines for action by the international community.

45. The United Nations should react cautiously to broadening its definition of the concept of peace-keeping operations, which could undermine the principles consecrated in Article 2 of its Charter, such as national sovereignty and non-interference in the internal affairs of States. Furthermore, States must be brought to accept a new idea of peace-keeping incorporating novel aspects such as humanitarian assistance, promotion of democracy and respect for human rights. Efforts were also needed to dispel apprehensions regarding such operations, which would permit, at least in part, the resolution of other problems linked to those apprehensions, including in particular the safety of personnel in the field, which could not be ensured without the cooperation of the parties to the conflict. In that connection, his delegation wholeheartedly supported the Sixth Committee's work on the elaboration of a legal instrument to improve the safety of peace-keeping personnel, and hoped that the vast majority of Member States would cooperate in that exercise.

46. To ensure the success of its peace-keeping operations, the United Nations must be convincingly impartial in both its actions and its decisions. To that end, every operation should receive a clear and specific mandate and should be placed under the absolute authority of the Secretary-General. A careful study of the appropriateness and goals of operations should be made prior to their launching, taking into account the underlying causes of the conflict to be resolved.

47. His delegation welcomed the importance attached to the role that regional organizations could play in peacemaking, and thanked the United Nations for its assistance to the Standing Advisory Committee on Security Questions in Central Africa. Such assistance was also vital for the Organization of African Unity, which had recently established a mechanism for the prevention and management of crises in Africa.

48. Regarding the question of personnel training, his delegation supported the initiatives taken or envisaged and hoped that trainer training fellowships would be awarded soon. Further consideration should be given to establishing both stand-by forces for rapid deployment and a reserve stock of equipment.

49. His delegation attached great importance to preventive diplomacy, which should also be based on the dissemination of objective, educational information. Particularly in the third world, the many ongoing conflicts were also caused by poverty, ignorance, intolerance or xenophobia. Developing an early warning system for conflict prevention would also provide an effective tool and would be less costly than attempting to impose peace.

50. With respect to the financing of peace-keeping operations, his delegation found the current system of determining the scale of assessments generally satisfactory, and invited the States members of the Security Council to continue to assume greater responsibility, given their pivotal decision-making role in peace-keeping operations.

51. Lastly, Cameroon paid tribute to all those who had given their lives for peace and endorsed the idea currently under consideration of putting up a plaque or monument in their memory in a public area of the United Nations Headquarters buildings.

52. Mr. Chilila (Romania), Vice-Chairman, took the Chair.

53. Mr. ELTINAY (Sudan) said that if Bosnia was an example of the biased application of Security Council resolutions, then Somalia was an illustration of a peace-keeping operation where the command had exceeded its mandate, which had resulted in bloodshed and the exacerbation of the problems, thereby proving that the mandate of missions should be clearly defined and adhered to.

54. All were agreed that the United Nations peace-keeping operations had reached a turning point in their history; there were 17 such operations under way throughout the world, and costs exceeded US$ 3 billion. The scope of the Organization's activities in the context of such operations was being broadened, ranging from the organization of elections and monitoring of the observance of human rights to the establishment of State institutions - all arduous tasks that prolonged what should essentially be temporary missions. That proved costly and could have negative consequences for the country intended to benefit from the peace-keeping operation. For those reasons, an overall review of peace-keeping operations was justified.

55. Peace-keeping operations came within the scope of collective security, but many local factors should be taken into consideration, by assigning the principal role to the regional organizations, in accordance with Chapter VIII of the Charter of the United Nations. There must be cooperation with the regional organizations concerned before United Nations forces were deployed in a given country. Attempts made in the name of preventive diplomacy without heeding the basic rules laid down with regard to peace-keeping operations and in defiance of

(Mr. Eltinay, Sudan)

the sovereignty of States were unwise and unreasonable. Any preventive deployment or the establishment of demilitarized zones was a form of interference in the internal affairs of States, whereas an essential condition of peace-keeping was that a United Nations presence could only be established in the territory of a State with its consent.

56. Moreover, it was important to draw a distinction between peace-keeping operations and peacemaking, which, as had been seen in Somalia, was an infringement of the right of populations to choose freely their Government and future.

57. In applying Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, the Organization had applied different criteria in different situations. The major Powers wished to apply Chapter VII vis-à-vis the countries whose policy did not meet with their approval, yet decided not to take action in Bosnia, where the Muslim population risked annihilation on racial and religious grounds. Moreover, the deployment of several peace-keeping forces was used as a pretext for not launching air raids against the Serbian aggressors and overlooking the crimes perpetrated by the West's allies in Bosnia. The operation certainly constituted a failure on the part of the United Nations, which had decreed an embargo on arms that hit the Bosnian people hard, while those committing aggression against them had no difficulty in securing supplies.

58. The change in the Security Council's position with respect to the situation in Somalia, as reflected by resolutions 885 (1993) and 886 (1993), offered the hope that priority would be accorded to a political solution involving the States in the region, which were best acquainted with Somalia and its people, with a view to reconstructing what had been destroyed by the war and allowing the people to decide on their political future. He was glad that the international community had finally heeded the appeal launched by the Sudan and the States of the region in that connection.

59. The safety of personnel responsible for peace-keeping activities was an important matter. The safety of the staff of the Organization was governed by the Convention on the Privileges and Immunities of the United Nations of 1946. While it was possible to examine the matter in a new legal context covering the new aspects of peace-keeping operations, it could not be said that the responsibility for the safety of United Nations personnel lay entirely with the host State. In certain cases, the host State was not consulted before United Nations personnel, and in other cases it did not have control over the entire territory in which they were deployed, as was the case in wartime. For those reasons the Special Committee must continue its work and seek the views of States on all aspects of peace-keeping matters.

60. Mr. PALYA (Hungary) said that peace-keeping operations were indispensable for maintaining international peace and security, and in many cases constituted the last chance for parties to a conflict to reach a peaceful settlement. They played an important role in Eastern and Central Europe, where almost every State was facing ethnic tensions, and helped to preserve the stability of those

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(Mr. Palya, Hungary)

regions. Hungary hoped that most of the proposals contained in the draft resolution would be put into practice in the near future.

61. In the last few years, political conflicts had changed radically and had become more serious and complex. Given the increased complexity of the tasks to be carried out, there was an urgent need for permanent staff to plan and conduct the peace-keeping operations. Hungary therefore welcomed the transfer of the Field Operations Division to the Department of Peace-keeping Operations; it also considered that the respective roles of the United Nations Headquarters and its field operations should be more clearly defined. Furthermore, clear mandates were required for the different missions in order to maintain the necessary level of support of the parties concerned, and such mandates should be subject to periodic review by the Security Council.

62. It had often become necessary to launch preventive operations rapidly, and the availability of the necessary material and human resources was thus the most important factor. Hungary welcomed the establishment of a planning team for the rapid detachment of personnel according to availability. It also approved of the other measures envisaged in the area, such as contracting out support services, but considered that the financial implications of such arrangements should be taken into consideration. The personnel involved in such activities required training, and his delegation hoped that a training centre would shortly be set up in Hungary. As to the financial aspects, it was important to rationalize the resources currently at the disposal of the Organization and to improve financial control mechanisms as well as the cost-effectiveness of operations. Hungary, which had supported the establishment of a Peace-Keeping Reserve Fund, hoped that sufficient contributions would be received to allow it to fulfil its function and that the available resources would be used for launching new activities rather than covering the expenses of current operations.

63. Hungary believed that political dialogue was the best means for parties to settle their conflicts - since the Organization was unable to impose peace on them - and considered that the peace-keeping missions should work along those lines. Moreover, regional organizations had a useful role to play in the search for a peaceful solution to disputes, as had been demonstrated in Somalia.

64. Hungary paid tribute to those who had lost their lives during peace-keeping activities. It welcomed the efforts made by the Fourth and Sixth Committees to establish a legal framework for ensuring the safety of peace-keeping personnel, but considered that the primary responsibility lay with the host Governments.

65. Humanitarian assistance was a fundamental part of peace-keeping operations, and Hungary attached great importance to improving the coordination of such activities with regional and non-governmental organizations.

66. Mr. ABDERAHMAN (Egypt), after recalling the concern that had arisen over peace-keeping operations, said that all Member States should assume their share of the cost of such operations, paying their contributions in full and on time.

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(Mr. Abderahman, Egypt)

It was important that the United Nations should be able to reimburse troop-contributing States without delay; otherwise the developing countries would be unable to participate, which would jeopardize the universal nature of peace-keeping operations.

67. With regard to the question of the resources available to the United Nations, his delegation welcomed the Secretary-General's initiative of establishing a stand-by forces planning team.

68. Although the Security Council bore the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, the General Assembly should also share some responsibility and could play a more active role in assessing the effectiveness of operations, coordinating the activities of the relevant United Nations bodies and formulating guidelines and principles.

69. His delegation supported draft resolution A/C.4/48/L.19, which provided both for improved consultation - the importance of which could not be overemphasized - between the Secretariat, the troop-contributing countries and the Security Council and for strengthening United Nations command and control capabilities. He also welcomed the transfer of the Field Operations Division to the Department of Peace-keeping Operations and the establishment of an around-the-clock situation room.

70. His country was concerned by the increasing numbers of casualties among United Nations personnel and urged the Secretary-General to review the current arrangements of compensation for death, injury, disability or illness, in order to develop more equitable arrangements and ensure expeditious reimbursement.

71. Lastly, he reaffirmed the importance of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations.

72. Mr. LEPESHKO (Belarus) noted that the cold war had long poisoned international relations, one instance being the way it had hindered the proper functioning of the United Nations. Currently, however, for many peoples the absence of a national consciousness, a tragic social and economic situation and environmental problems had created centres of tension which lay at the source of innumerable local wars. It was that which made the question of peace-keeping operations so important: on the one hand, the international community had been offered an unprecedented opportunity for mutual understanding and fruitful cooperation, while on the other hand there had been an explosion of local conflicts and wars between nationalities and faiths, which had resulted in an unprecedented expansion of United Nations peacemaking activities which far exceeded the Organization's capacities.

73. With its firm belief in the principle of the peaceful settlement of disputes, Belarus was convinced that the use of armed forces to keep the peace was an extreme and provisional measure which should be reserved for situations where peaceful means for settling disputes had been exhausted. He fully shared

the Secretary-General's view that "the most desirable and efficient employment of diplomacy is to ease tensions before they result in conflict".

74. In its peace-keeping operations the United Nations should be guided above all by the principles contained in the United Nations Charter, such as respect for the sovereignty of States and non-interference in internal affairs. A peace-keeping operation could not be successful unless it was conducted with the consent of the Governments concerned or the parties to the conflict. His country felt, moreover, that the success of any such operation required meticulous preparation, including an in-depth study of the situation in the conflict area, a clear understanding of the resources available to the United Nations to settle a given conflict, taking into account the stage it had reached, and a massive media information campaign. In that connection he welcomed draft resolution A/C.4/48/L.19, which aimed to strengthen United Nations peace-keeping capacities.

75. The experience of the previous years showed that the possibilities and resources available to the United Nations in that field were far from unlimited. It could not jeopardize its own authority or the lives of the military and civilian forces under its authority by undertaking a peace-keeping operation without being sure of its success. Any such operation should be preceded by open multilateral consultations between the Secretary-General, the members of the Security Council and the relevant States Members of the United Nations. Extensive cooperation with regional organizations, which could play a more active role in the settlement of conflicts, would also be useful. It was important that civilian and military participants in peace-keeping operations should receive the required training and that a database should be set up on civilians whom Member States could put at the disposal of the United Nations for peace-keeping operations.

76. In accordance with Article 17, paragraph 2, of the United Nations Charter, the funding of peace-keeping operations was the collective responsibility of all States, so Belarus welcomed the decision taken by the General Assembly at its forty-seventh session to create a Peace-keeping Reserve Fund. It shared the Secretary-General's concern that many Member States did not pay their contributions in full and on time, but he was convinced that the situation would improve only if there were a fairer division of financial charges among Member States.

77. In recent years the political and economic situation of many countries had changed radically. Yet the scale of assessments and the composition of the groups established for the purpose of apportioning the expenses relating to peace-keeping operations had not changed. At the forty-sixth session the General Assembly had requested the Secretary-General to submit a report on the anomalies in the division of countries into four groups as indicated in General Assembly resolution 43/232. The Secretary-General's report (A/47/484) had been considered by the Fifth Committee at the forty-seventh session, when his delegation, along with many others, had supported the practical proposals there formulated, but in the absence of the necessary political will no decision had

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(Mr. Lepeshko, Belarus)

been taken. Consideration of the matter was being unduly prolonged at the current session, too, despite the clear need to eliminate the anomalies in question. It was particularly important to take a decision regarding Belarus and Ukraine, which for purely political and ideological reasons had been classified under group (b), consisting of economically developed Member States that were not permanent members of the Security Council. Those two States, which, together with the former Soviet Union, had been founder Members of the United Nations, continued for inexplicable reasons to be in a group which did not correspond with their level of economic development. It should be recalled that all the other republics of the former Soviet Union had been correctly included in group (c), consisting of economically less developed States. It was a matter of urgency to resolve the matter at the current session. The economic and financial crisis that Belarus was going through meant that it could not wait for a comprehensive solution, while the reclassification of Belarus and Ukraine in group (c) was entirely justified.

78. His country was ready to contribute in any way to strengthening peace and security throughout the world. It had always done everything and would continue to do everything in its power in the service of such a noble cause. Its sincerity could be judged by its disarmament policy. Most notably, it had voluntarily and unconditionally given up its nuclear weapons and had acceded to the relevant international treaties.

79. Mr. ABDELLAH (Tunisia) recalled that his country had already provided a contingent to the United Nations Force in the former Belgian Congo and was currently participating in the operations in Western Sahara, Somalia, the former Yugoslavia and Rwanda. It had also participated in UNTAG in Namibia and in UNTAC in Cambodia. Second-generation peace-keeping operations had evolved beyond the traditional role of separating combatants and now involved new tasks, such as the delivery and protection of humanitarian assistance and the monitoring of boundaries. Because their scope and complexity rendered peace-keeping operations difficult, it was essential that they should be carried out in strict compliance with the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter.

80. Given the critical financial situation of the United Nations, Member States should pay their assessed contributions to the peace-keeping budget in full and on time. The resolution of that problem was all the more important because it held up the reimbursement to troop-contributing States of the amounts owed to them by the Organization for their participation in peace-keeping operations and for compensation for disabilities suffered by their nationals in the course of service in United Nations operations. In that regard, mention should be made of the special responsibility borne by those States which were permanent members of the Security Council. Moreover, the financial capacity of countries with limited resources should be taken into account in the assessment of contributions.

81. Tunisia, whose nationals had given their lives during United Nations operations, was concerned about the problem of the safety of United Nations

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(Mr. Abdellah, Tunisia)

personnel. It therefore noted with interest the Secretary-General's proposals in that regard and welcomed the consultations under way in the Sixth Committee on the elaboration of an international legal instrument for the protection of peace-keeping personnel. In that regard, Tunisia wished to pay tribute to the many United Nations personnel who had died in the line of duty.

82. Tunisia wished to see the strengthening, or even the institutionalization, of consultations with troop-contributing States. It would be useful to involve those States in the Security Council consultations when future operations were being planned. Similarly, his delegation would welcome closer consultations between the Secretary-General and those same States on the question of the management and conduct of such operations.

83. Mr. Kalpagé (Sri Lanka) resumed the Chair.

84. Mr. MELENDEZ-BARAHONA (El Salvador), speaking on behalf of the Central American group of countries, said that, given the experience gained in missions in the former Yugoslavia, Somalia and Haiti, it was essential to carry out an in-depth review and re-evaluation of the operations under way in order to take the corrective measures necessary to enable the Organization to cope with threats to international peace and security, while fully observing the provisions of the Charter. The United Nations should be careful not to become the policeman of the world or a tool of any given Power. It was therefore important, before envisaging even the smallest peace-keeping operation, to determine whether a particular crisis situation was likely to degenerate and threaten international peace and security. Indeed, before reaching that point, efforts should be made to resolve the crisis by recourse to the various international mechanisms and instruments currently available. The Organization should explore more fully the possibilities of preventive diplomacy and spare no effort to address the economic and social origins of crises.

85. Recalling that the maintenance of international peace and security was the collective responsibility of Member States in terms of both financing and decision-making, he said that the Central American group of countries supported all initiatives aimed at strengthening the Secretariat's capacity to manage and administer peace-keeping operations. Likewise, they were convinced that the planning and implementation of all operations should be under the control of the United Nations and that the General Assembly should play a greater role in decision-making in the area of peace-keeping. No operation should be undertaken without the consent of all the parties to the conflict, in the case of Central America, the peace process had moved along in the right direction because all the parties directly concerned had demonstrated the necessary willingness to resolve existing problems by political means.

86. The cessation of hostilities did not mean that the conflict had been resolved, in so far as all conflicts had after-effects which exacerbated the classic economic and social problems. It was therefore important to consolidate peace. In that connection, much remained to be done in Central America, despite the results obtained with the help of the international community and the United

(Mr. Melendez-Barahona, El Salvador)

Nations system. The principal task at hand was to halt the decline of the markets for the region's export products, which prevented it from implementing its priority programmes: the reintegration of displaced persons and former combatants into economic life, agrarian reform, the struggle against poverty, and the consolidation of democratic institutions, in particular.

87. Mr. TAYLHARDAT (Venezuela) said that the unprecedented increase in the number and scope of peace-keeping operations raised many political, conceptual and operational questions.

88. At the political level, even though all Member States were invited to participate in United Nations operations and contribute to their financing, the vast majority of them had no role in the decisions authorizing such operations. In addition to the problem of the representativity of the Security Council, there was no mechanism by which troop-contributing countries could be kept informed of the progress and prospects of a particular operation.

89. At a more theoretical level, the question might be asked whether certain operations were in conformity with the principles of national sovereignty and whether there had been excessive recourse to force and to sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter. It might also be asked, whether the Security Council was competent to deal with questions concerning humanitarian law and human rights, and whether it was prudent to progress from peace-keeping to peacemaking, with all the political, military or even legal risks which such a move entailed. Furthermore, at the operational level, many problems of command, control and planning, not to mention organization and financing, had to be faced.

90. Nevertheless, the United Nations remained the only organization possessing the moral and political authority necessary for the consolidation of peace, and its presence was essential, whether the purpose was to provide humanitarian or electoral assistance. Venezuela therefore supported draft resolution A/C.4/48/L.18 and felt that further consideration should be given to the measures which the new operations would necessitate.

91. Venezuela was very concerned about the safety of United Nations civilian and military personnel and vigorously condemned the deliberate attacks of which they had been victims. It was glad that the Sixth Committee was considering the preparation of a legal instrument to ensure that those responsible for such attacks were brought to justice. Nevertheless, it was also necessary to study the link between the rapid increase in such attacks and the relationship between the United Nations and the parties to the conflicts concerned.

The meeting rose at 1 p.m.

UNITED NATIONS
General Assembly
FORTY-EIGHTH SESSION
Official Records

SPECIAL POLITICAL AND
DECOLONIZATION COMMITTEE
(FOURTH COMMITTEE)
26th meeting
held on
Tuesday, 30 November 1993
at 3 p.m.
New York

SUMMARY RECORD OF THE 26th MEETING

Chairman: Mr. KALPAGE (Sri Lanka)

CONTENTS

AGENDA ITEM 87: COMPREHENSIVE REVIEW OF THE WHOLE QUESTION OF PEACE-KEEPING OPERATIONS IN ALL THEIR ASPECTS (continued)

ANNOUNCEMENT CONCERNING SPONSORSHIP OF DRAFT RESOLUTIONS

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Distr. GENERAL
A/C.4/48/SR.26
2 February 1994

ORIGINAL: ENGLISH

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The meeting was called to order at 3.20 p.m.

AGENDA ITEM 87: COMPREHENSIVE REVIEW OF THE WHOLE QUESTION OF PEACE-KEEPING OPERATIONS IN ALL THEIR ASPECTS (*continued*) (A/48/158, A/48/173, A/48/291-S/26242 and Corr.1 (Spanish only) and Corr.2 (Spanish only), A/48/349-S/26358, A/48/403/Add.1-S/26450/Add.1 and A/48/403/Add.1/Corr.1-S/26450/Add.1/Corr.1, A/48/515-S/26605; A/C.4/48/L.18 and A/C.4/48/L.19)

1. Mr. AL-OTAIBI (Kuwait) noted the increasing importance of peace-keeping operations. On the one hand, more States were requesting United Nations assistance and, on the other hand, the mandate of the operations had been extended to include such matters as human rights and election-monitoring, as in Somalia and Mozambique. That being the case, efforts to examine the effectiveness of peace-keeping operations should be redoubled. Referring to paragraph 63 of the report of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations (A/48/173), he said that the failure of some States to pay their assessed contributions was disturbing, since it could leave the operations themselves in a precarious situation.

2. Of most immediate interest to his country was the United Nations Iraq-Kuwait Observation Mission (UNIKOM). Its importance was such that Kuwait had decided to finance two thirds of its costs in the current year. He expressed his gratitude to States which had helped with UNIKOM and in other ways, despite the dangers and difficulties involved.

3. He recalled that Security Council resolution 687 (1991), which had been adopted following the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, had been primarily concerned with monitoring cease-fire violations, whereas Security Council resolution 806 (1993) had recommended extending UNIKOM, giving it a wider sphere of competence. For reasons which Kuwait understood, the Secretary-General had been unable to implement those recommendations; as a result, Iraq had continued its incursions into Kuwaiti territory. Following the most recent such incursion, on 16 and 20 November 1993, Kuwait had issued a presidential statement calling on Iraq to desist.

4. Peace in the region was impossible until Iraq respected the international border between Iraq and Kuwait and withdrew its claim on Kuwait. Every day brought further incidents that threatened international peace and security. He therefore urged the international community to continue to help his country, just as his country helped others, for example, in the United Nations force in Somalia. Reiterating that the financing of peace-keeping operations was a collective responsibility, as laid down in Article 17, paragraph 2, of the Charter, he said that his country would do everything in its power to ensure that UNIKOM discharged its mission successfully. Kuwait supported all efforts directed at achieving international peace and security.

5. Mr. ANNAN (Under-Secretary-General for Peace-keeping Operations), commenting on issues that had been raised during the debate in the Committee, said that while mandates and resources had to come from Member States, much also depended on the Secretariat. In the quest for efficiency, the Department of

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(Mr. Annan)

Peace-keeping Operations had been restructured over the past year. Pointing out that it was currently involved in some 17 peace-keeping operations, varying in scope and complexity, he said that merging the Department with the Field Operations Division, which had provided administrative and logistical support to operations, would make it more responsive to the growing demand for their services.

6. The Secretary-General intended to strengthen the Department further by creating a post of Assistant Secretary-General, with responsibility for the planning and support of peace-keeping operations. Training capabilities were also to be improved: materials would be developed and, with the help of the Ford Foundation, a list would be drawn up of institutes around the world which could teach peace-keeping techniques. That information would be available to countries wishing to train troops.

7. In order to accelerate the deployment of troops, the Department was working on stand-by arrangements. Memorandums of understanding would be drawn up with interested Governments to establish who could provide what. Seven officers were currently working on the arrangements, which would greatly help with planning. In that connection, he said that another innovation was the establishment of a planning unit, which would analyse plans from existing missions and thus be in a position to undertake forward thinking and planning and to reorganize existing missions, such as that in Bosnia. He was aware that some Member States would have preferred a permanent headquarters, along the lines of that of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), but he was afraid that they would not be able to sustain such a headquarters financially. Until the field headquarters was fully established he hoped to deploy members of the planning team in the field.

8. He expressed his gratitude to Member States for their efforts to protect United Nations peace-keepers. Between 1948 and 1988 there had been 723 deaths of peace-keeping personnel; during the current year there had already been 180. In those circumstances, greater protection for peace-keepers was much needed. In that context and in response to criticisms that United Nations peace-keeping operations were becoming unduly militaristic, he said that the United Nations was operating in more violent situations and that peace-keepers had sometimes had to kill innocent civilians in self-defence.

9. He apologized to Member States for the tardy reimbursement of amounts owed to them. His Department was working on collecting the assessed contributions of States which had not paid so that those who had borne the brunt of financing peace-keeping operations could be reimbursed.

10. Referring to the draft resolution on strengthening United Nations command and control capabilities (A/C.4/48/L.19), he said that the Secretariat considered it so important that it had brought together eight generals to review the whole issue of command and control. As the situations faced became more dangerous, so the issue became more critical. When troops were asked to do something risky, a general in the field might demur at the use of his own contingent rather than another; that attitude could, however, put all

(Mr. Annan)

contingents at risk. As casualties grew, Governments became reluctant to deploy their troops.

11. Lastly, he appealed to all States to give peace-keeping operations their full support. The sustained political will and support of all countries was needed on two levels: legislators had to be convinced that peace-keeping was an essential aspect of the modern world, and the public in all their respective countries should be educated along the same lines. The Secretariat would do all it could to help Member States to achieve both those aims.

12. Mr. SHAMBOS (Cyprus) said that in the current period of transition the international situation was most volatile and unstable. With widespread violent conflicts taking place, the dream of a new world order remained as elusive as ever. It could only be realized if the ability of the international community to deal with conflicts was strengthened. International peace and security were bound up not only with military, but also with political, legal, humanitarian, economic and environmental issues.

13. His delegation supported draft resolutions A/C.4/48/L.18 and A/C.4/48/L.19, which he hoped would be adopted by consensus.

14. Cyprus, which was itself the victim of foreign aggression and occupation, had consistently welcomed all ideas aimed at strengthening United Nations peace-keeping efforts. The contribution of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP) since 1964 had been invaluable, although its presence in the island had not prevented the military invasion and occupation of almost 40 per cent of its territory in 1974. Some had called for the withdrawal of UNFICYP on the grounds that it had been in place too long, but he shared the Secretary-General's view that its withdrawal might give rise to incidents which could escalate and result in a conflict, with significant consequences for the security of both communities in Cyprus. What was needed was a negotiated settlement which was mutually acceptable to the two communities. Meanwhile he reminded the Committee that, instead of withdrawing, as numerous General Assembly and Security Council resolutions had called upon them to do, the occupation troops had been strengthened. Their military equipment and armaments had recently been upgraded and increased and the stockpiling of additional military supplies had reached alarming proportions. In those circumstances the continued presence of UNFICYP was indispensable.

15. The cost, however, was high. His Government, which had welcomed the decision adopted in September 1993 concerning the financing of UNFICYP, had increased its voluntary contribution to $18.5 million, which amounted to almost half the cost of maintaining the operation in Cyprus.

16. A broader lesson might be drawn from his country's experience. Peacemaking would lag behind peace-keeping as long as one of the parties concerned was not willing to comply with the dictates of the international community. The answer was not to abandon the peace-keeping effort, but to press on with the implementation of the relevant Security Council resolutions by all available means. In that process there should be no distinctive selectivity and no

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(Mr. Shambos, Cyprus)

yielding to expediency and double standards, which could only serve to generate failure, prolong ineffective peace-keeping operations and perpetuate conflicts. Otherwise succeeding generations would pay the price of the current generation's follies.

17. Mr. TASOVSKI (the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia), noting that preventive diplomacy was preferable to traditional peace-keeping in dealing with conflicts, said that United Nations peace-keeping was at a critical juncture: not only were peace-keeping operations growing exponentially but their mandates were evolving dramatically to include more complex tasks. Consequently, it was vital for the Security Council to ensure that the mandates were clear and that the needed financial, human and material resources were available. Uniform high standards should be developed for peace-keeping operations through a common training programme.

18. The suggestions in the Secretary-General's report entitled "An Agenda for Peace", offered a solid basis for enhancing the role of the General Assembly in the maintenance of international peace and security, a responsibility which it should share with the Security Council. Another issue of paramount importance was the safety and security of peace-keeping personnel. In that connection, his delegation supported the recommendations in both the report of the Secretary-General on that subject (A/48/349) and the report of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations (A/48/173).

19. In his own country, a contingent of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) had been preventively deployed on the borders in order to ensure the nation's security, with exemplary results. It was the first time in United Nations history that military units had been used to prevent the spillover of a war. Because of its special character, the mission should be placed directly under the auspices of the Secretary-General.

20. His Government was ready to join in cooperative arrangements for the training of military, civilian and police personnel to participate in peace-keeping operations. It also supported the establishment of a memorial for peace-keepers who had lost their lives. It believed that smaller countries with a limited military capability should also contribute to peace-keeping operations, although for them financing would obviously be a burden that must be alleviated by the most developed States; that would enable the developing countries to assume a responsibility common to all Members of the United Nations.

21. Mr. LI Song Jin (Democratic People's Republic of Korea) said that throughout the world, religious, ethnic and territorial conflicts were bringing about a sharp increase in peace-keeping operations, which placed a financial burden on the United Nations and jeopardized the safety of the personnel involved in them. The Democratic People's Republic of Korea had maintained the consistent position that all international disputes should be resolved peacefully through dialogue and negotiation. The use of force and sanctions could not solve international conflicts; on the contrary, it seriously harmed the socio-political life of countries and led to an increase in tension.

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(Mr. Li Song Jin, Democratic
People's Republic of Korea)

22. In the new conditions established in the post-cold-war period, the international community should redouble its efforts to seek fair solutions to all problems by peaceful means. His delegation therefore believed that certain principles should be observed in peace-keeping activities. First, they should take place at the request and with the prior approval of the State concerned, and the principles of sovereignty and non-interference in internal affairs should be thoroughly observed; the issues involved should be analysed and assessed before the question of peace-keeping operations was discussed; the parties should be encouraged to resolve their dispute through negotiation; and there should be no external interference or influence. In that regard, his delegation could not fail to mention that the Unified Command, which was a product of the cold war, was impeding the efforts of the Korean people to achieve peace in the Korean peninsula. The United Nations should take the necessary measures to dissolve the Unified Command, thereby removing external interference and influence and creating a favourable atmosphere for a dialogue between the north and the south of Korea.

23. Second, the major Powers should discard the policies of the cold-war era, in particular recourse to military threats against, or economic pressure on, third world countries. The application of a double standard, which was not a suitable way to resolve disputes, should no longer be allowed in international relations.

24. In conclusion, he reiterated his delegation's support for the work of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations.

25. Mr. FULCI (Italy), associating himself with the position of the European Union set out at the 22nd meeting by the Belgian delegation, said that he wished to add a few comments based on Italy's direct experience in the field, in Somalia and Mozambique. His delegation was convinced that the very word "peace-keeping" needed to be broadened, in consideration of the new reality which was emerging and in response to the challenges the Secretary-General had put to the international community in his report entitled "An Agenda for Peace". What the United Nations contingents had been asked to do in Somalia and Mozambique would seem to fall more properly within the new framework of peace enforcement. The overall context of peace-keeping had political, social, economic and humanitarian implications: sending in peace-keeping troops satisfied only some of those components. The Security Council resolutions adopted on both Somalia and Mozambique outlined a broad framework of action and, within that often elusive context, peace enforcers were supposed to help to build peace from within. In both countries, the political solution must be sought the hard way, on a daily basis, by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, within the broad mandate given to him by the Security Council and in consultation with the contributing countries. The military operation in each case became clearly dependent on political decisions made as and when the need arose, and in no way could it be separated from the broader context. Since there was no established theory of peace enforcement, its practice must be subject to the control of those States which were willing and were in a position to contribute. Italy had paid a heavy toll in terms of both resources and, more especially, lives.

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(Mr. Fulci, Italy)

26. The different outcome of the United Nations operations in Somalia and Mozambique was all too well known. In Mozambique, Italy had been asked to make a greater contribution in terms of political thinking and diplomatic skill, and it could therefore refer to the success of the United Nations Operation in Mozambique (ONUMOZ) with some pride. The Mozambique experience had taught the following lessons: the main contenders must be willing to work for a political solution, since there was no way to impose peace on those who did not want it; the parties to the conflict must accept the presence of the United Nations as the guarantor of national reconciliation; humanitarian aid and economic assistance must be provided in clearly defined amounts and under specific deadlines; a clause requiring periodic reassessment of peace-keeping operations should be included in all mandates to prevent their excessive prolongation; the international community must have the determination to provide effective help commensurate with the goals; the use of force against small groups which violated an agreement could not be excluded, although little could be done if one of the main parties involved was refractory; and a mechanism was needed for more regular consultation of the contributing countries on all aspects of an operation: military, political, humanitarian, social and economic.

27. Italy planned to pursue the special tasks entrusted to it by the two parties to the conflict in Mozambique and it would assist, as requested, in the implementation of all the clauses of the Peace Accord signed in Rome in October 1992. It would also continue to provide humanitarian assistance and would support the electoral process in Mozambique. Italy would maintain its contingent there until 30 April 1994, but it was time for other countries to join in helping to bring an end to the successful operation.

28. Mr. KABIR (Bangladesh) said that the past year had seen a rapid increase in the number and complexity of peace-keeping operations. His delegation welcomed the efforts to enhance the capability of the United Nations to plan and conduct such operations, especially by strengthening the Department of Peace-keeping Operations, establishing a 24-hour/7-day-a-week situation centre and forming a stand-by forces planning team. Qualified civilian and military personnel should continue to be drawn from troop-contributing countries on a representative basis. The senseless blood-letting throughout the world in recent times made it clear that tensions and conflicts must be defused through preventive diplomacy by the United Nations. If such conflicts were to be nipped in the bud, the Organization must have an accurate data collection and data analysis system which would enable it to take swift decisions as to whether a preventive deployment of United Nations troops was advisable or even whether a peace-keeping operation was necessary at all at a particular stage. To facilitate such decisions, the United Nations had to dispatch fact-finding missions quickly to collect accurate and unbiased information and to monitor potential conflicts impartially. In that connection, the Organization could consider cooperation with regional organizations, in keeping with Chapter VIII of the Charter.

29. His delegation welcomed the Secretary-General's initiative regarding stand-by forces for rapid deployment in areas requiring an immediate United Nations presence. His Government was prepared to contribute troops, as it had to a great variety of peace-keeping operations over the years, and it believed

(Mr. Kabir, Bangladesh)

that a limited, revolving reserve of basic peace-keeping equipment contributed by other Member States would make it possible to deploy complete contingents in new operations. It also believed that guidelines should be prepared for the disposal of equipment upon the termination of the operation.

30. The arrangements for training civilian, police and military peace-keeping personnel, especially before deployment, must be improved and guidelines, manuals and other relevant training material must be developed for the entire range of personnel involved.

31. The growing deficit in the financing of peace-keeping operations not only delayed the mounting of new operations but placed an inequitable financial burden on the developing countries which provided troops. All Member States must satisfy their collective responsibility to support peace-keeping operations. On the other hand, the applicable financial and administrative regulations should be reviewed from the standpoint of cost-effectiveness, and comprehensive budget estimates should be prepared in time for review by the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions (ACABQ) and the General Assembly. The United Nations would then be in a better position to reimburse troop-contributing countries. That was particularly important since non-reimbursement had become an obstacle to further participation by countries such as Bangladesh.

32. While the proposed memorial for peace-keepers who had lost their lives was an appropriate gesture, at the same time compensation should be made to the families of the deceased and also to peace-keeping personnel who had been injured in the cause of peace. For those who continued to serve in precarious conditions, every possible step should be taken to ensure their safety. One practical step would be the drafting of a legally binding international instrument encompassing all existing international law on the matter, in particular international humanitarian law, status-of-forces agreements and other bilateral and multilateral arrangements for the protection of peace-keeping personnel.

33. Mr. MORENO FERNANDEZ (Cuba) said that a growing number of countries were being affected by the excessive increase in peace-keeping operations and especially by the changing concepts of those operations and related activities introduced with the publication of the Secretary-General's report, entitled "An Agenda for Peace". The informal consultations on draft resolution A/C.4/48/L.18 and the establishment of the Working Group of the Non-Aligned Countries on Peace-keeping Operations bore witness to the growing interest of States in the question.

34. Peace-keeping operations and their role in the United Nations in the post-cold-war era must be analysed in a political context. His delegation was distressed at the attempts being made to exempt "second generation" operations from the standards for action that should apply to the entire Organization in the light of Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter of the United Nations, which established the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of States.

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(Mr. Moreno Fernandez, Cuba)

35. It must be borne in mind that the United Nations was composed of sovereign and equal States, whatever their size, economic potential or military might. All peace-keeping operations, therefore, must be governed by certain basic principles: first, peace-keeping operations had been conceived exclusively for use in situations of international conflict which endangered international peace and security, and never in domestic situations within Member States; second, in all peace-keeping and related actions, the United Nations must preserve its neutrality; third, the principle of seeking and receiving the consent of the parties concerned prior to the initiation of a peace-keeping operation was an essential prerequisite; and, fourth, all peace-keeping operations must have a clear and precise mandate as to their form and participants. The fact that peace-keeping operations were not one of the mechanisms provided for in the Charter for the peaceful settlement of disputes did not exempt the Organization from applying those principles strictly.

36. The functioning of peace-keeping operations was closely linked with the approach of the organ that governed them, the Security Council, which had been severely criticized of late for its lack of transparency, biased attitude and constant attempts to exceed its mandate. The proliferation of peace-keeping operations under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, the ease with which the Council decided that a situation, even one of a domestic nature, affected international peace and security, and the attempts to link the Council's activities to those that were actually within the competence of other United Nations organs were only some examples of the major Powers' imposing their will on other Member States. The increasing attempts to link peace-keeping operations to humanitarian assistance programmes conducted by the United Nations were a reflection of that trend; in fact, humanitarian activities were not a function of the Security Council, as General Assembly resolution 47/120 made clear.

37. It might therefore be appropriate for the Special Committee to study the question of peace-keeping operations not only from a conceptual and comprehensive standpoint, but from the point of view of the political and operational features of each operation.

38. The Special Committee itself, also needed to be reviewed. While his delegation welcomed its activities, it believed that its membership should be expanded to reflect the interest of a growing number of countries in peace-keeping operations and that its geographical distribution should be more equitable. Those should be priority matters for the future.

39. As for draft resolution A/C.4/48/L.18, although his country had joined in the consensus achieved in its drafting, it was concerned that the Committee might be taking financial and budgetary decisions that were more properly within the mandate of the Fifth Committee. Another matter for concern was the fact that the Secretariat was increasingly taking decisions related to peace-keeping operations without first consulting Member States. Moreover, attempts had been made during the negotiations on the draft resolution to alter the meaning of resolutions recently adopted by the General Assembly, particularly with regard

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(Mr. Moreno Fernandez, Cuba)

to the report entitled "An Agenda for Peace" and resolution 47/120 B relating to preventive deployment, the role of the regional organizations and other aspects. Similarly, there had been attempts to prejudge the work on future instruments to guarantee the safety and security in the field of United Nations personnel involved in peace-keeping operations. That matter was currently being discussed by the Sixth Committee and nothing should be done to jeopardize the ongoing negotiations. In that connection, he said that the best way of protecting personnel involved in peace-keeping operations was to provide those operations with a clear and precise mandate, to obtain the prior consent of the parties to the conflict, and to ensure that such personnel fully respected the laws and customs of the host country.

40. Mr. SANBAR (Officer-in-Charge, Department of Public Information) said that he fully shared the view expressed by the several speakers that the information component should be an integral part of United Nations peace-keeping operations. The Department of Public Information would work closely with those involved in peace-keeping operations in order to ensure, within available resources, that Member States were kept as well informed as possible about peace-keeping operations.

41. Mr. Joong Jae KIM (Republic of Korea), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said it was a well-known fact that the 1953 Armistice Agreement ending the conflict in the Korean peninsula had one signatory party, the Unified Command. The abolition of the "Unified Command" in Korea would seriously undermine the effectiveness of that agreement, which he was certain had not been the intention of the North Korean representative. The Unified Command should therefore remain until it was replaced by an agreement for a permanent durable peace in the Korean peninsula.

42. Mr. KIM Su Man (Democratic People's Republic of Korea), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, reiterated his delegation's opinion that the Unified Command was a remnant of the cold-war era. His remarks had not, however, been intended as a criticism of the South Korean delegation.

43. Mr. MALONE (Canada) drew attention to an error in the text of draft resolution A/C.4/48/L.18. The beginning of paragraph 76 (a) should read "Will give" rather than "Gives".

44. Mr. DE SOUZA (Secretary of the Committee), speaking on the programme budget implications of draft resolutions A/C.4/48/L.18 and L.19, said that, if the General Assembly should adopt draft resolution A/C.4/48/L.18, the Secretary-General would implement its provisions as far as possible within the appropriation level approved by the General Assembly for the biennium 1994-1995, as stated in paragraph 77. With regard to the request for conference services for the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations (para. 79), he said that the Special Committee was expected to hold one substantive session a year at Headquarters. That session would be included in the calendar of conferences; two meetings a day would be serviced in all six languages and provision would be made for 30 pages of pre-session documentation, 100 pages of in-session documentation and 32 pages of post-session documentation. Supplementary

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(Mr. De Souza)

appropriations for temporary assistance would depend on the calendar of conferences for the biennium 1994-1995. Provision had, however, been made under the proposed programme budget for the biennium 1994-1995 for meetings authorized after the preparation of the budget, provided that the number and distribution of meetings and conferences was consistent with the pattern of meetings in previous years. Consequently, no additional appropriation would be required under the proposed programme budget for the biennium 1994-1995 in connection with draft resolution A/C.4/48/L.18.

45. With respect to the programme budget implications of draft resolution A/C.4/48/L.19, he said that the Secretary-General had increased the level of resources requested for peace-keeping operations under the proposed programme budget for the biennium 1994-1995 and the support account for peace-keeping operations. It was anticipated that the activities to be carried out under the draft resolution could be accommodated within the proposed level of resources; no additional appropriation would therefore be required.

46. The CHAIRMAN informed the Committee that Canada, Germany, the Netherlands, Poland, and the United States of America wished to become sponsors of draft resolution A/C.4/48/L.19.

47. Mr. BARONCELLI (Italy) said that his country would like to become a sponsor of draft resolution A/C.4/48/L.19.

48. The CHAIRMAN said that if he heard no objection, he would take it that the Committee wished to adopt draft resolution A/C.4/48/L.18.

49. It was so decided.

50. The CHAIRMAN said that if he heard no objection, he would take it that the Committee wished to adopt draft resolution A/C.4/48/L.19.

51. It was so decided.

52. Mr. CORDEIRO (Brazil) said that Brazil had joined the consensus on draft resolution A/C.4/48/L.19 on the understanding that the phrase "based on unity of instruction" in paragraph 1 referred to unity of command and not unity of training, as might be inferred from the text.

53. Mr. MUNYAMPETA (Rwanda) expressed his Government's gratitude to the entire international community for the assistance rendered to Rwanda under the terms of Security Council resolution 872 (1993) in the implementation of the Arusha Peace Agreement. Rwanda was particularly grateful to those countries which had contributed troops to the operation.

ANNOUNCEMENT CONCERNING SPONSORSHIP OF DRAFT RESOLUTIONS

54. The CHAIRMAN informed the Committee that Bangladesh had become a sponsor of draft resolutions A/C.4/48/L.21 to L.31 submitted under agenda item 85. In addition, Pakistan had become a sponsor of draft resolutions A/C.4/48/L.23 to L.31 and France had become a sponsor of draft resolution A/C.4/48/L.22.

The meeting rose at 5.35 p.m.